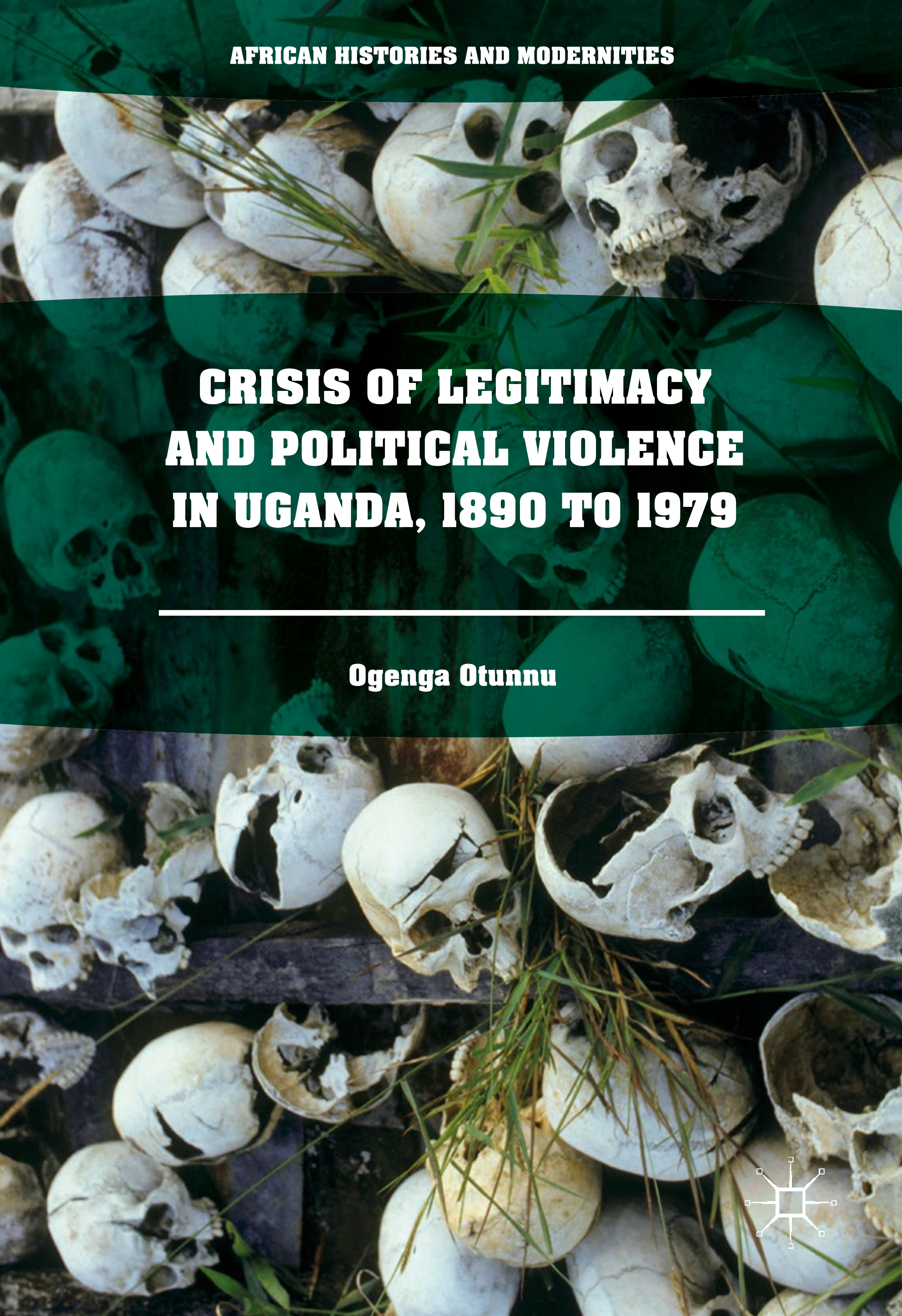

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CRISIS OF LEGITIMACY AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN UGANDA, 1890 TO 1979

Ogenga Otunnu

African Histories and Modernities

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This book is dedicated to my best teachers, my inspiration and best friends, Baba Evangelist Dr. Yusto Otunnu and Mama Amato Otunnu, for their unwavering and selfless commitment to social justice and inclusive rights-based human development. You will not be forgotten.

PREFACE TO BOOK 1

Historical and political examinations of the development of Uganda abound. Many scholars have conducted book-length analyses of the political situation in the country. Ogenga Otunnu's book offers a different perspective. It brings to the analysis of Uganda a depth of investigation that offers new conceptual frameworks and fresh intellectual insights. In highlighting the phenomenon of political violence, Otunnu is not necessarily offering much that is radically new. However, the analysis in the book critically interrogates many of the quite settled ideas of how the phenomenon of political violence in Uganda has been manifested. Taking on those who offer only partial or erroneous explanations for the phenomenon, Otunnu's analysis compels a second look at accepted historical interpretations that should also be cause for pause and serious introspection as we examine the contemporary situation. Not only does the book make the point that we need to revisit the dominant narratives about Uganda's accepted history, it argues that to understand "Uganda" we need to reach back much further than has hitherto been the case.

Few countries have simultaneously experienced as much hope and despair as the colloquially named "Pearl of Africa." Travelling through the continent at the turn of the twentieth century, British jingoist and then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Winston Churchill, counseled his countrymen to "concentrate on Uganda." Huge returns would come from small investments, he prophesied. While to Churchill the country he so admired (or coveted) presented a façade of tranquility and pacific harmony, as a matter of fact the onslaught of imperialism had already stained the empire's African gem. Indeed, political violence marked the very establishment of Uganda, given the inter-religious wars and numerous *coups d'etat* that heralded the arrival of empire in this part of the continent. The struggle for control of the nascent protectorate between the *Ba-Faransa* (the followers of French Catholicism) and the *Ba-Ingeleza* who were aligned to the English Protestant/Anglican faith was decisively concluded in favor of the latter. Lord Frederick Lugard's cannon fire and Sudanese corps of soldiers on which he mainly relied did much to settle the battle in this manner. Regardless of the often paternalistic Churchillian way in which the establishment of imperialism in Uganda is often portrayed, the fact is that the very creation of the protectorate in 1894 was marked by a heavy dose of political violence.

This book is important not simply because it seeks to unsettle accepted historical truths. It is important because it is not content to consider only the colonial experience and its impact on the Ugandan body politic. Instead, it begins with an analysis of a number of the prominent pre-colonial structures that existed in the country that eventually became Uganda. Taking us back to the pre-colonial allows for an appreciation of the continuities and the disruptions that imperialism wreaked on the country and which still manifest in the contemporary political economy. It challenges the idea that history begins with colonialism, while accepting that colonialism left a significant imprint on Ugandan political history. As much as this is a lesson in history, it is much more compelling as an argument of contemporary political significance.

Makerere University J. Oloka-Onyango

Acknowledgments

One of the results of completing this study is that I have acquired and can now discharge the obligations to express my appreciation to many people, institutions and organizations that contributed directly to this study.

First of all, I am indebted to many Ugandans, including those I met in concentration-like camps in the Luwero Triangle and West Nile in the early 1980s, in Acholi, Lango, Teso and West Nile in the late 1980s and late 1990s, who patiently, generously and candidly shared with me their time, lived experiences, imaginations and views on political violence in the country. Some Baganda who were violently uprooted from their stations by harrowing political violence in the 1960s and Ugandan refugees in Kenya, Sudan, South Africa, Sweden, the UK and Canada also shared their experiences with me. I am humbled by their insights, traumatic experiences and courage.

In the 1980s, colleagues at Makerere University enriched my understanding of the history of political violence in the country by sharing with me their lived experiences of being "outsiders," the risk of being declared "bandits," the terror of being declared stateless "Rwandese" or "Sudanese," and the degradation and fragmentation of being violently uprooted and internally displaced. Seventeen colleagues from the Makerere University Guild accompanied me on a very risky but noble fact-finding tour to every district and subdistrict in the country in 1984. In February 1985, thousands of my colleagues demonstrated their collective opposition to terror, intimidation, dictatorship and corruption in the government and at Makerere University. I thank them for their patience, resistance, solidarity and activism.

My fellow political detainees at the Central Police Station in Kampala in 1985 shared with me their tragic stories. Their humor, friendship and strength, in the face of protracted inhumane and degrading treatment, taught me how the country has maintained a semblance of sanity under intense and prolonged political terror and violence. Life in the prison of torture, humiliation and social death would have been unbearably traumatic without the prayers, love and encouragement of my wonderful parents, sisters, brothers, nieces, nephews and cousins. My friends, Colonel Kapuchu and Grace Kafura, smuggled in food, medicine and newspapers. May God bless them. My friends and colleagues from Makerere University, Okello Lucima and Ben Tumuharwe, with whom we were detained by the Obote regime, also deserve a word of appreciation for their friendship and courage.

In the 1980s and 1990s, some prominent political leaders and military officers shared with me their views on the ensuing political conflicts in the country. I will mention a few of them: O. Alimadi (Prime Minister), Dr. A. Tiberonda (Minister of Industry), Dr. J.J. Otim (Minister of Animal Resources), E. Nyanzi (Democratic Party [DP] Member of Parliament and later Minister of Commerce), Dr. Paul Ssemogerere (President of DP and later Deputy Prime Minister), Zachary Olum (Vice-President of DP and MP), Dr. Ambrose Okullu (DP and later Minister of Education), J. Ssenteza (Member of Parliament, DP), Professor Benjamin Obonyo (DP and Minister of Health), Professor I. Ojok (Minister of Education), T. Atwoma (Leader of the Liberal Party and former Vice-President, DP), Dr. O. Mulozi (DP), Major General Oyite Ojok (Army Chief of Staff), General Basilio Okello (Brigade Commander, 10th Brigade, and Army Chief of Defence Forces) and Lieutenant-Colonel F. Agwa (Joint Chairman of Security Committee). A number of my former colleagues from Makerere who served as senior army and government officers in the Museveni regime, between 1986 and 2016, also provided information and documents on political violence under the regime. Their names are not mentioned because of security consideration. Thank you.

Special thanks go to General T. L. Okello for providing me with the rare opportunity to discuss the chronic political crisis with many prominent political and military players in the country in the early 1980s. From 1980 to 1992, General Okello also shared with me his interpretations and analyses of political violence in Uganda since the 1930s. *Apwoyo cwiny me wat ki kony ma inyutu.*

My debt remains to my former students of African History, refugee and forced migration studies, comparative genocide and "Third World" politics at York University, Northwestern University and DePaul University, who encouraged me to carry out a rigorous and extensive interdisciplinary research that enriched this study.

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Professor A.A. Mazrui (the Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies and Albert Professor in Humanities, State University of New York at Binghamton) passed my Ph.D. thesis, which forms an important part of this work, with a distinction. Mazrui also invited me to his home several times and shared his extensive understanding of political violence in uganda. As my mentor over several years, he reminded me to publish the study. Professor O. H. Kokole (Binghamton State University of New York) and Professor D. Rubadiri (formerly of Makerere University) also shared with me their unrehearsed views about political violence in Uganda. Professor Toyin Falola (Jacob and Frances Sanger Mossiker Chair in Humanities, University Distinguished Teaching Professor at the University of Texas at Austin) and Professor B.E. Harrel-Bond (Oxford University) also provided some useful documents and comments and encouraged me to publish this study. Thank you.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Uganda, as an imagined territorial state and a tragic human drama, was the "child" of the late nineteenth-century European expansionist violence. This child came into imperial "existence" in 1890, following the Anglo-German Agreement. Since that time, it has experienced intense political violence. Indeed, it has become an important example of a state that continues to be ravaged by harrowing political violence.

This study focuses on why intense political violence persisted in Uganda from 1890 to 1979. It also examines how both state and non-state actors responded to the phenomenon and the effects of political violence on the society. The utility, types, intensity and location of political violence are also highlighted. The central argument is that the most significant factor accounting for the persistence of intense political violence is the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions, political incumbents and their challengers. This violence, both a cause and effect of the crisis of legitimacy, in turn, has exacerbated and sustained the severe crisis of legitimacy—thus, completing the vicious cycle. On the most general level, it suggests that societies experiencing prolonged and severe crises of legitimacy are prone to intense and persistent political violence. Other secondary propositions are (i) more often than not, political violence is employed alongside other non-violent political methods to address the crisis of legitimacy by enlisting support, cooperation, compromise, control and compliance; (ii) in specific instances of intense power contestation, political

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violence is employed as an abbreviated method of conflict elimination or conflict resolution or revenge; (iii) a despotically strong and infrastructurally strong state by its very nature has a severe crisis of legitimacy and is an important site of political violence. Such a state will exhibit stability of a police state; (iv) a despotically strong but infrastructurally weak state is an important site of political violence and instability; (v) a despotically weak and infrastructurally weak state is an important site of political violence and widespread anarchy; (vi) a despotically weak but infrastructurally strong state is an important site of political legitimacy and sustainable rights-based stability; (vii) response to political violence is influenced by many and constantly changing variables: legitimacy of the state, its institutions, political incumbents and their challengers; perceptions and nature of threat; duration of conflict; contested and/or imagined histories of relations between the protagonists; contested and/or imagined histories of relations between the protagonists and secondary targets; history of relations between the protagonists and spillover targets; coercive potentials of the protagonists; objectives, strategies, tactics, targets and effects of political violence; and relations between the protagonists and other stakeholders; and (viii) effects of political violence depend on a host of variables: relations between the protagonists; relations between the protagonists and secondary targets; relations between the protagonists and other stakeholders; and objectives, targets, nature, duration, intensity, histories and location of political violence.[1]

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[1] M. Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results", in J. A. Hall, ed., *States in History*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986: 109–127, makes a distinction between infrastructural power, the capacity of the state to penetrate society by imposing its decisions, and despotic or direct, forceful power of the state and the state elite. According this observation, infrastructural power is compatible with democratic as well as totalitarian regimes. Contemporary Western democracies, this view maintains, are despotically weak but infrastructurally strong. Feudal states, on the other hand, were weak in both respects. Modern authoritarian states, it is further asserted, are despotically strong and infrastructurally strong. For informative debates about these political forms, see B. Buzan, "The Concept of National Security for Developing Countries," in M. Ayoob and Chai-Anan Samudavanija, eds., *Leadership Perceptions and National Security*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988: 1–2; C. B. C. O'Brien, "The Show of State in Neo-Colonial Twilight: Francophone Africa," in J. Manor, ed., *Rethinking Third World Politics*. London: Longman, 1991: 145–165. See also, D. K. Gupta, *The Economics of Political Violence: The Effects of Political Instability on Economic Growth*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990: 251–258; F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963: 21–2, 72, 87, 102–103; R. J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1978, especially: 530, 548; T. R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: New

A Working Definition of Political Violence

Discussions about political violence have produced more confusion than clarity. For one thing there is little agreement on the meaning of the word, the phenomenon it is meant to describe, how to study it, what causes it, how it affects societies, how people respond to it or what to do with it. Differences of opinion mirror diverse assumptions about human nature, the nature and functions of the state, the nature and functions of political violence as well as the conceptual frameworks and methodologies employed to unravel the phenomenon.[2] This lack of consensus is compounded by the usage of important but equally ambiguous concepts in the study of political violence: "politics," "violence," "instability," "aggression," "protest," "conflict," "crisis" and "disorder."[3] For example,

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Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970: 3, 232; T. R. Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices," *The American Political Science Review*, LXII, 4 (December, 1968): 1107; F. R. Von der Mehden, *Comparative Political Violence*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973: 4–6; A. Dallin and G. N. Breslauter, *Political Terror in Communist Systems*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1970: 127–129; D. Forster, *Detention and Torture in South Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987, especially: 7–29.

[2] See, for a start, K. Lorenz. *On Aggression*. London: Methuen, 1967, especially: vii–x, 34–65, 237–8; A. Bandura, *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973; E. Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winton, 1973; L. Berkowitz, *A Survey of Social Psychology*. Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1975, especially: 52–76; R. B. Lockard, "Reflections on the Fall of Comparative Psychology: Is there a Message for us all?", *American Psychologist*, 26 (February 1971): 168–179; K. N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959: 16–41; W. Graylin, R. Macklin and T. M. Powledge, eds., *Violence and the Politics of Research*. New York: Plenum Press, 1981; C. C. O'Brien, *Herod: Reflections on Political Violence*. London: Hutchinson & Co, 1978; I. K. Feirabend, R. L. Fierabend and T. R. Gurr, eds., *Anger, Violence and Politics: Theories and Research*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972; E. Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises and Revolutions: Theories and Research*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1983; D. A. Hibbs, *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis*. New York: John Wiley & sons, 1973; T. Nardin, *Violence and the State: a Critique of Empirical Political Theory*. Beverly Hill, Sage Publications, 1971; M. Hoefnagels, ed., *Repression and Repressive Violence*. Amsterdam: Sets & Zeitlinger, 1976; K. W. Grundy and M. A. Weinstein, *The Ideologies of Violence*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merill, 1974; H. L. Nieburg, *Political Violence: the Behavioral Process*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.

[3] See, for example, A. P. Schmid, *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature*. New Brunswick, N. N.: Transaction, 1983: 20; Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises and Revolutions*: 6–15; S. P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*;

politics is often defined narrowly or broadly in terms of one or some of the following notions: "policy, power, authority, legitimacy, state, conflict and allocation of resources."[4] Similarly, "violence" is often defined ambiguously in terms of one or more of the following: coercive power, authority, violation, injustice, force, physical force, legitimate force or illegitimate force.[5] This syndrome of terminological confusion is further hopelessly complicated by the competing political beliefs of scholars and whose side the scholars choose in the conflicts they study.[6]

In this study, two dominant and competing definitions of political violence are highlighted. The first is based on the assumption that the state is a necessary and legitimate form of political organization. This assumption, which is derived from that of contractualistic civil society and is influenced by the tendency of structural functionalism, suggests that the primary roles of the state are to manage conflicts and maintain desired socio-economic and political equilibrium. Since political violence is disruptive to the equilibrium, this viewpoint contends, state actions "fall into some other category such as legitimate force, social control, regime coercion, or conflict management."[7] Political violence, it follows from this perspective, stems primarily from illegitimate actions of non-state actors.[8] The leading proponent of this perspective is T.R. Gurr. According to him:

> political violence refers to all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors – including competing political groups as well as incumbents – or its policies. The concept represents a set of events, a common property of which is the actual or threatened use of violence, but the explanation is not limited to that property. The concept subsumes revolution, ordinarily defined as a fundamental sociopoliti-

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C. Mitchell, M. Carleton and G. A. Lopez, eds., *Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986: 7–10.

[4] Schmid, *Political Terrorism*: 20. See also, H. Lasswell, *Politics: Who gets What, When, How*. New York: The World Publishing, 1958; Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises and Revolutions:* 6–15.

[5] Schmid, *Political Terrorism*: 20; T. Nardin, "Conflicting Conceptions of Political Violence," *Political Science Annual*, 4 (1973): 7.

[6] See, for example, Nardin, "Conflicting Conceptions of Political Violence,": 75.

[7] Ibid: 99.

[8] See, for example, H. Eckstein, "On the Ethnology of Internal Wars," in Feirabend, et. al., *Anger, Violence and Politics*: 10–16.

> cal change accomplished through violence. It includes guerrilla wars, coup d'état, rebellions, and riots.[9]

This functional concept of political violence—that excludes acts of violence from "above" and within the apex of power structure—has been applied to studies of political violence in many parts of the world.[10]

Gurr's definition of political violence, which is still widely used by some scholars from underdeveloped societies, was influenced in part by the desire to help the US government, whose contribution to the research is acknowledged, control the "urban disorder" or the violence that characterized the height of the civil rights movements in the 1960s. In keeping, in part, with the objective of the study, violence from "above" or by state actors did not constitute political violence.[11] This concept, with its ideologically loaded assumptions about the legitimacy of the state and its institutions, however, has serious problems. To begin with, could the state, its institutions and the incumbents that maintained key elements of the institutions of slavery and the apartheid policy against African-Americans be perceived, at least by the primary victims of the policy and the system, as legitimate? Did African-Americans not perceive and experience white supremacy and the apartheid policy as acts of political violence against them?[12] Similar questions can be posed about how the indigenous peoples of Australasia and the Americas, for example, who faced systematic and consciously anticipated mass exterminations and genocides perceive the

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[9] Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* : 3–4.

[10] See, for example, Eckstein, "On the Ethnology of Internal Wars,": 10–16.

[11] In his earlier work, "Urban Disorder: Perspectives from the Comparative Study of Civil Strife," *American Behavioral Scientis*t, II, 4 (March–April, 1968): 50–55, Gurr offered two seemingly contradictory solutions to the "urban disorder": removal of the root causes of unrest; and strong and coherent state coercion. This work informed his definition of political violence and the subsequent thesis he developed in his pioneering work, *Why Men Rebel.* For a more rigorous and plausible explanation of political violence that engulfed the USA during this period, see H. L. Nieburg *Political Violence.* New York: St. Martins, Press, 1969: 75–97, 133–1263.

[12] See, for a start, W. D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550–1812.* New York & London: W. W. Norton, 1977; S. I. Kutler, *Looking For America. The People's History.* Second Edition. Vol. 1. New York & London, W. W. Norton, 1979: 350–358, 386–406; *Looking for America: The Peoples History.* Second Edition. Vol. 2. New York & London: W. W. Norton, 1979: 223–248; S. Carmichael and C. V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.* New York: Vintage Books, 1967; M. Marable and L. Mullings, eds., *Let Nobody Turn Us Around: Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

"colonial" settler state, its institutions and the incumbents. In the context of Africa, Uganda included, Gurr's definition runs into equally serious difficulties: who considered the colonial state, which was integral to the construction of violent European imperial hegemony, as legitimate? Who considers the neocolonial state in Africa, which inherited and preserved key elements of the colonial state, as legitimate? Are the states, institutions and incumbents not a major source of conflict and political violence in neocolonial Africa? Informed answers to these questions do not support Gurr's assumptions and definition.[13] Perhaps, the flaws inherent in the assumptions and definition contributed to Gurr's endorsement of the second perspective.

The second perspective on political violence questions the legitimacy of the state, its institutions, the incumbents and their challengers. It also questions whose interests the equilibrium serves, the need to preserve the equilibrium and whether political violence is necessarily dysfunctional. It then presents political violence in terms of perceived threats and power contests involving both state and non-state actors. One of the most influential proponents of this view is H.L. Nieburg. According to him, political violence is an act "of disruption, destruction, injury whose purpose, choice of targets or victims, surrounding circumstances, implementation, and/or effects have political significance, that tend to modify the behavior of others in a bargaining situation that has consequences for the social system."[14]

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[13] In fact, Gurr's own works, "Urban Disorder: Perspective from the Comparative Study of Civil Strife," *American Behavioral Scientist*, II, 4 (March–April, 1968): 52; *Why Men Rebel*: 90–154, 234, 240, 251, 256, suggest that people are less likely to act violently against the state if they are convinced that the political system is legitimate.

[14] Nieburg *Political Violence*: 9. Nieburg offered a devastating criticism of many theories of political violence in America: the riffaff theory, the gun theory, the McLuhan theory, the Lorenz-Ardrey killer-instinct or aggression theory, the frontier theory, the deprivation theory and the frustration-aggression theory. He then presented political violence in terms of the dynamics of bargaining relationships in society competing for choices, rewards, authority and scarce values. Political violence, he posited, creates and tests political legitimacy and conditions "the terms of all social bargaining adjustments." It is an early warning system for a society in crisis. In keeping with his theory, which emphasized the political dimension of violence in social bargaining, Nieburg concluded that political violence is a natural bargaining behavior which cannot be eliminated, unless societies want to commit suicide. See Ibid: 5–163. See also, C. Von Clausewitz, *On War*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984. Here, war is presented as a form of political violence deployed for bargaining in politics. Similarly, T.C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960: 1, discussed arms in diplomacy as a form of bargaining. Works that adopted Nieburg's definition of political violence include, F.R. Von der Mehden, *Comparative Political Violence*. N.J:

While E. Zimmermann, among other scholars, acknowledged that this is a better definition, he cautioned that the concept of bargaining, as espoused by Nieburg, is problematic and has to be used with great care.[15]

For the purpose of this study, the definition offered by Nieburg is modified and grounded in the growing knowledge of the political history of the kleptocratic and despotic state, Uganda. Here, political violence is defined as an act of violence or threat of violence, destruction, injury, disruption, dislocation and deprivation whose perceived objectives and/or perceived effects have political significance for the society. This broad definition emphasizes the significance of perception, whether objective or subjective, in understanding political violence in Uganda. This emphasis is warranted for two reasons. First, since the construction of the colonial state, the social, the economic and the "private" have become the larger political. In addition, since the invention of the state, the state and its institutions have been fused with the regime and, in many instances, with the political incumbents and the ruling political "party." In such a territorial state, any and every form of violence is potentially political violence. Second, the tragic history and nature of political violence and other forms of conflicts in Uganda have blurred the distinction between subjective and objective realities. Indeed, from the vantage point of actors in conflict, construction of reality is a subjective enterprise that depends on one's location in society and one's selective understanding, imagination and interpretation of past and present history.

Two examples will illustrate the need for this emphasis. Joshua Mukasa (a Muganda) and George Ogwang (a Lango) were neighbors near the Agakhan High School in Kampala. Mukasa perceived the Museveni regime as legitimate because it brought to an end what he referred to as political violence by the "Anyanya" (dark-skinned foreigners), as the Acoli and Langi were referred to in the political south of Uganda in the first two decades of Museveni rule. In this instance, the Museveni regime secured the right to govern or political legitimacy by dislodging the previous Langi and Acoli-led governments which were a major threat to the security of the people of Buganda. Mukasa maintained his view despite the fact that some

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Prentice-Hall, 1973: 7; Nardin, *Violence and the State*; Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises and Revolutions*; M. Hoefnagels, ed., *Repression and Repressive Violence*. Amsterdam & Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1977: preface; B. Singh, "An Overview," in Y. Alexander and S.M. Finger, eds., *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: The John Jay Press, 1977: 5–6.

[15] Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises and Revolutions*: 9.

Baganda, including supporters of the late Dr. Andrew Kayira and some Baganda monarchists who wanted to get rid of the Museveni regime, did not view the regime as legitimate. Mukasa also perceived every form of violence perpetrated by the "Anyanaya" as political violence.

Ogwang, on the other hand, perceived the Museveni regime as having a profound crisis of legitimacy because, in his view, it was dominated by Tutsi refugees who disguised themselves as Banyankole and Ugandan Banyarwanda. In addition, Ogwang maintained that the regime had engaged in deliberate marginalization and extermination of the Langi. Ogwang maintained his perception of the regime despite the fact that some Langi, who were highly placed in the Museveni regime, did not share his view. He also perceived any form of violence perpetrated by the "Tutsi refugees," whose membership, in Ogwang's mind, now included anybody from the political south, as political violence.

In June 1992, the two neighbors were violently robbed by the same armed "Tutsi refugees" or "Banyankole" robbers. According to Mukasa, the robbery was an ordinary crime that was not sanctioned by the regime. The fact that the robbers were "Banyankole" like Museveni, he explained, did not mean that the robbery was politically motivated. Given Mukasa's location in society, as a Muganda, and his particular imagination and interpretation of past and present history of the country, the incident did not alter his relations with the regime or with the Banyankole.[16]

Ogwang, on the other hand, perceived the armed robbery as an act of political violence because, according to him, "Tutsi refugees are punishing us [Langi] for whatever violence and humiliation they suffered during Obote's rule. They also tell us repeatedly that this is their government." In this instance, Ogwang's vulnerable position in the country, as a Lango, and his selective understanding and interpretation of past and present history of the country made him perceive the incident differently. In the end, the incident increased Ogwang's opposition to the regime.[17]

In 2009, Mukasa and Ogwang switched their perceptions. This time, Ogwang, who realized that the only way to survive in the country was by becoming a vocal supporter of Museveni's ruling party, perceived the killing of 30 Baganda protesters by the police and the army in September

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[16] Joshua Mukasa, 34 years, graduate of Makerere University, and George Ogwang, 37 years, graduate of Makerere University, years, interviews by author, Kampala, December 12, 1992.

[17] Joshua Mukasa, 34 years, graduate of Makerere University, and George Ogwang, 37 years, graduate of Makerere University, years, interviews by author, Kampala, December 12, 1992.

2009 as a regrettable accident. Ogwang also claimed that the government had the right to stop the Kabaka of Buganda, Mutebi II, from visiting a part of his kingdom in Kayunga because the inhabitants of the area did not want to belong to the Buganda kingdom. Mukasa, on the other hand, perceived both the killing of 30 Baganda protestors and the government decision to stop Kabaka Mutebi II from visiting a part of his kingdom as deliberate acts of political violence by the regime. In fact, Mukasa also declared that the regime had no legitimacy in Buganda.[18]

The foregoing raises a number of questions: whose perception is objective? Whose perception is subjective? Who determines what is objective or subjective reality? Seen from another location, historical context and time, does an objective reality become a subjective reality, or vice versa? What determines which act of violence is political violence? Who determines what act of violence is political violence? Seen from a different location, historical context and time, does an act of political violence become a different form of violence, or vice versa? From the vantage point of Mukasa, his perception is objective because it is informed by what, in his mind, is an objective reality. Similarly, from Ogwang's view of his world, his perception is objective because it is informed by objective reality.

These examples suggest that what is perceived as an act of political violence is influenced by one's position and experience in the ensuing political conflict. Such a conception embodies certain value preferences and is not normatively neutral. This contention is supported by observations made by many scholars, including G.A. Lopez, T. Nardin and D. Pion-Berlin.[19] Nardin, for example, observed that "people differ about whether a given event constitutes violence, and these differences appear to be bound up in one's political beliefs, with whose side one is on in political conflicts."[20] In a similar vein, D. Pion-Berlin noted that governments "sensing danger may in fact face none or at least misperceive its character. It also raises the possibility that the authorities may have legitimate fears, founded on their own disclosed or undisclosed predisposition; fears that make the resort to excessive levels of violence seem imperative to them. From their 'angle of vision,' the 'enemy' is formidable and threatening; while to us it is hardly visible."[21]

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[18] Joshua Mukasa, 51 years, graduate of Makerere University, and George Ogwang, 54 years, graduate of Makerere University, interviews by author, Kampala, December 10, 2009.

[19] See G. A. Lopez, "A Scheme for the Analysis of Government as Terrorist," in M. Stohl and G. Lopenz, eds., *The State as Terrorist*. West Point, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984: 63.

[20] Nardin, "Conflicting Conceptions of Political Violence,": 75.

This broad and relativist definition raises a number of challenges to scholars of political violence whose assumptions and world views have been shaped by different historical and political experiences and intellectual traditions. First, it challenges the emphasis often placed on the need to formulate "precise" and "scientific" definitions. This emphasis is "preached" despite the fact that, more often than not, scholars only pay rhetorical tribute to terminological precision. This is not to suggest that scholars do not make the effort to define the limits of what belongs or does not belong to a particular definition. Rather, whatever definition they formulate is honeycombed with imprecision and contradictions. What ultimately matters is not what limits and values scholars impose on a particular concept but what limits the people who are the main focus of a particular study impose. Simply put, rather than impose "scientific" definitions that are constructed in different locations, historical contexts and time, scholars should derive definitions of the phenomenon from the vantage points of the perpetrators and victims of political violence.

Secondly, it makes it difficult, if not intellectually dishonest, to quantify incidents of political violence and carry out cross-national quantitative analysis of political violence.[22] To be sure, even without adopting this relativist definition, quantitative data on political violence, like those on violations of human rights, are generally of dubious reliability.[23] Thirdly, it repudiates attempts to apply the customarily rigid dichotomy between political violence and social violence or economic violence and political violence. Such a repudiation is particularly appropriate in the study of political violence in Uganda, where the imposition and preservation of the predatory and despotic state have blurred such distinctions.[24] Finally, it increases the difficulty, if not futility, of attempting to formulate a "universal theory" of political violence.

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[21] D. Pion-Berlin, *The Ideology of State Terror: Economic Doctrine and Political Repression in Argentina and Peru*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989: 7.

[22] The development of computer-based programs for analyses of enormous volume of data and the development of data banks have led to growing interests in cross-national quantitative studies of political violence. A good example of such a study is Feierabend, Feierabend and Gurr, eds., *Anger, Violence and Politics: Theories and Research*, especially: 185–221.

[23] For a similar view, see A. Zwi and A. Ugalde, "Towards an Epidemiology of Political Violence in the Third World," *Social Science Medicine*, 28, 7 (1981): 633; R. J. Goldstein, "The Limitations of Using Quantitative Data in Studying Human Rights Abuses," *Human Rights Quarterly,* 8, 4 (November, 1986): 612–3; Von der Mehden, *Comparative Political Violence*: 4–6; Amnesty, *Amnesty International Report*. London, 6, 1 (1984): 2; M. Mitchell, M. Stohl and G. A. Lopez, "State Terrorism: Issues of Concept and Measurement," in Stohl and Lopez, eds., *Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986: 2–3.

These challenges suggest the need for a new approach to the study of political violence—one that takes seriously both the limitations and achievements of political theories and conceptual and analytical frameworks that are derived from "European" and "North American" experiences. Such an approach should ask whether, and in what ways, the political, intellectual and historical experiences and traditions of Europe and North America are relevant to Africa. Put differently, such an approach should be grounded in the growing and sound knowledge of the histories of Africa. It should also reflect the growing and sound knowledge of the histories of the hegemonic societies whose world views, values, interests and intellectual traditions are heavily reflected in existing concepts, theories and analytical frameworks.

It is worth noting that the "floating" or relativist definition adopted in this study has some analytical value when applied to the study of political violence in underdeveloped, developing and developed countries. For example, with relevant modifications, the definition may also be applied to studies of political violence in countries such as Britain, Canada, Germany and the USA. For instance, while a segment of the whites in Britain often refer to riots involving them and the "blacks" as racial violence, a segment of "blacks" perceive the same riots as political violence. Similarly, while a non-Jewish German scholar, writing on the eve of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, might have referred to the extensive brain surgeries and sterilization—carried out on thousands of Jews by the Nazis' doctors—as violations of medical ethics, a Jewish survivor of the holocaust might have perceived such acts as an important part of the Final Solution or genocidal political violence.[25] Likewise in the USA, African-Americans generally perceive what some white Americans label "racial violence," as political violence. These conflicting perceptions reflect the experiences of the parties in conflict.[26] In a similar vein, what has been traditionally referred to in literature and public discourse as "domestic" or "social" violence, including rape, is now referred to by some victims, scholars and activists as political violence. This is so because the "private domain" is a "political domain."[27]

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[24] Nardin, *Violence and the State*: 11–33, made a similar observation about the study of political violence in other societies.

[25] See, for example, R. Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europ*e. Washington, D.C.: Carneige Endowment for International Peace, 1974; I. Wallimann and M. N. Dobkowki, eds., *Genocide and the Modern Age*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987: 237–251, F. Chalk and K. Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990; L. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981; E. Markusen and D. Kopt, *The Holocaust and the Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*. Boulder:

Working Definitions of Legitimacy and Crisis of Legitimacy

Diverse and competing definitions of legitimacy emphasize the following criteria: (i). Power which is derived from a morally and/or legally valid source of authority; (ii). Power in the hands of those with appropriate qualities to obtain and exercise them; (iii). Power whose exercise conforms to recognizably shared interests, values, beliefs and expectations of the subordinates; and (iv). Power that wins reciprocal cooperation, responsibility and obligations from the contracting parties. In a multi-

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Westview Press, 1995, especially: 35–55; A. Palmer, "Ethnocide," in M. N. Dobkowski and I. Wallimann, eds., *Genocide in Our Age*. Ann Arbor, M.I.: Pierian Press, 1992: 1–21.

[26] See, for a start, A. Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*. London Pluto Press, 1987, especially: 105, 108, 116, 120–126; P. Johnson, *A History of the Jews*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987: 423–517; W. Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815–1985*. Third Edition. London: Edward Arnold, 1987: 323–325; F. Gilbert, *The End of the European Era, 1890 to the Present*. Third Edition. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984: 287–89; W. Brink and L. Harris, *Black and White*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967, especially: 15–43; W. Jordan, *White over Black*; W. H. Chafe, "The Civil Rights Movement," in A. F. Davis and H. D. Woodman, eds., *Conflict and Consensus in Modern American History*. Seventh Edition. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath & Company, 1988: 499.

[27] See, for example, V. S. Peterson and A. S. Runyan, *Global Gender Issues: Dilemmas in World Politics*. Boulder, West View Press, 1993, 2; P. H. Merkl, "Approaches to the Study of Political Violence," in Merkl, ed. *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986: 21–59; S. Hassin, Jo Meteler Kamp and A. Todes, "A Bit on the Side?: Gender Struggles in the Politics of Transformation in S. Africa," *Transformation*, 5 (1987): 3–32. An observation made by one of the most prominent historians, E.H. Carr, *What Is History?* London: Penguin Books, 1990: 12, about the construction of the image or history of Greece in the fifth century sheds more light on the discussion: "Our picture of Greece in the fifth century B.C. is defective not primarily because so many of the bits have been accidentally lost, but because it is, by and large, the picture formed by a tiny group of people in the city of Athens….Our picture has been preselected and predetermined for us, not so much by accident as by people who were consciously or unconsciously imbued with a particular view and thought the facts which supported that view worth preserving."

ethnic, multi-religious, multi-national, multi-class and multi-racial society, such as Uganda, memberships into these groups are also important criteria of legitimacy. The criteria of legitimacy highlighted incorporate socio-economic, cultural and political expectations and obligations into the definition of legitimacy.[28] With regard to the international legitimacy of a regime, for example, two competing and somewhat ambiguous criteria are often emphasized: power whose exercise conforms to international norms, customs, principles, practices, conventions, obligations and rules by which relations between states and other international persons are governed; and power in the hands of those who control internationally recognized political jurisdictions or sovereign states.

These criteria are adopted in this study to provide a working definition of legitimacy of the state, its institutions, incumbents and their challengers. What the definition suggests is that legitimacy is divisible. That is, while some segments of the society may perceive the state, its institutions, incumbents and their challengers as legitimate, other segments may perceive them as lacking the right to exist and/or rule. Similarly, while some states and international persons may perceive a particular state, its institutions, incumbents and their challengers as legitimate, others may perceive them as having legitimation deficit. The definition also acknowledges that legitimacy is transient or time specific. That is, it may decline or increase, depending on how the stakeholders perceive the prevailing socio-economic, cultural and political systems. It also depends on how political players order their vital values, interests and obligations.[29]

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[28] See J.H. Scholar, *Legitimacy in the Modern State*. New Brunswick, N.J. & London: Transaction Books, 1981:17–30. Scholar noted that: "a claim to political power is legitimate only when the claimant can invoke some source of authority beyond or above himself [*sic*]. History shows a variety of such sources: immemorial custom, divine law, the law of nature, a constitution. … If a people hold the belief that existing institutions are "appropriate" or "morally proper," then those institutions are legitimate." For similar criteria, see also, A. Moulakis, ed., *Legitimacy*. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyer, 1986: 2–5; G. L. Clark and M. Dear, *State Apparatus: Structures and Language of Legitimacy*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1984: viii–5, 153; D. Betham, *The Legitimation of Power*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1991: 3–31; R. Barker, *Political Legitimacy and the State*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990: 5–59; M. Wright, *Systems of States*. London: Leicester University Press, 1977: 153–173; N. N. Kittrie, *The War Against Authority: From the Crisis of Legitimacy to a New Social Contract*. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

[29] See, for example, K. W. Grundy, *Guerrilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971: 9–10.

Since the criteria of legitimacy are interpreted and ordered differently from time to time by the stakeholders, a crisis of legitimacy is a common characteristic of politics. What constitutes a crisis, however, is a subject of extended debates. Thus, one of the leading scholars of crises in international politics, C.A. McClelland, observed that

> So many studies of crisis have been published in the last fifteen years from so many different angles of inquiry that it is more difficult than it once was to be sure about the denotations and connotations of the term. Not only is there a heavy popular usage of the word in ordinary discourse but also there are indications that historical change has brought about an expansion of the variety of situations that are called readily by the crisis name.[30]

K. Miller and I. Iscoe added that "the individual perception of threat and of a crisis is unique to him [*sic*] and there is some recognition that what constitutes a crisis to one individual or group does not constitute it for another group."[31]

Scholars and practitioners are also divided over an important definitional criteria of a crisis: duration. According to some economists, sociologists, social workers and psychiatrists, one of the essential features of a crisis is that it is acute rather than chronic and ranges from days or weeks to a few weeks or months, depending on a particular subject matter. What this view suggests is that a crisis cannot drag on for an "indefinite" period without resolution, one way or the other.[32]

Other scholars and practitioners, especially those of contemporary political economy, refugee and forced migration studies and environmental degradation, on the other hand, maintain that a crisis is a chronic phenomenon, more persistent and has a lower rate of resolution. Accordingly, this group often talks about the crises of imperialism, the crises of periphery capitalism, the debt crises, the crises of structural adjustment policies, environmental crises and refugee crises, as chronic phenomena.[33]

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[30] C. A. McClelland, "Crisis and Threat in the International Setting: Some Relational Concepts," *Threat Recognition and Analysis Project* (1975): 1–2, cited in M. Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis: Israel, 1967 and 1973*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980: xi.

[31] K. Miller and I. Iscoe, "The Concept of Crisis: Current Status and Mental Health Implications," *Human Organization*, 22, 3 (Fall 1963): 196.

[32] See, for example, T. Turner, "Zaire: Stalemate and Compromise," *Current History*, 84, 501 (April 1985): 179–183; Miller and Iscoe, "The Concept of Crisis: Current Status and Mental Health Implications": 195–200; A. R. Roberts, ed., *Crisis Intervention Handbook: Assessment, Treatment and Research*. Belmount, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990: 8–11.

Despite differences of opinion, most definitions of crisis emphasize one or more of the following notions: (i) a breakdown in and/or a significant disturbance of the equilibrium; (ii) a breakdown of strategic institutions; (iii) a state of impasse or imbalance in relations or in the structure, one that has repercussions for the system; and (iv) a critical period or an event that is perceived as a danger and/or a strain to important habits, values, customs, capacity and life goals of the stakeholders. The foregoing, especially the structural-functional perspective, suggests that a crisis is often associated with increased tension, conflict, turmoil, violence, instability, insecurity, frustration, alienation, confusion and disorganization.[34]

In this study, the broader concept of crisis, as espoused in contemporary political economy, is adopted. Here, a crisis of legitimacy means perceived legitimation deficit or perceived breakdown of legitimacy or perceived imbalance in the desired socio-economic, cultural and political equilibrium. A severe crisis of legitimacy, therefore, means perceived fundamental and prolonged legitimation deficit or perceived fundamental and prolonged breakdown of legitimacy or perceived fundamental imbalance in desired socio-economic, cultural and political equilibrium.[35]

What these definitions of legitimacy and crisis of legitimacy suggest is that states, regimes, regime challengers and institutions experience crises of legitimacy at particular points in history. These crises have been closely associated with increased tensions, conflicts, alienation, instability, uncertainty and violence.[36] For instance, the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions, the incumbents and their challengers led to a prolonged and harrowing political violence in Northern Ireland. Similarly, in Canada the crisis of legitimacy of the state and its institutions, as seen by the nationalists in Quebec, has generated political instability, economic uncertainty, political tensions and political violence in the country.[37]

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[33] See, for example, Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *The Crisis in Zaire: Myths and Realities.* Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1986: 5–7; L. Timberlake, *Africa in Crisis: The Causes, the Cures of Environmental Bankruptcy.* London and Washington, DC.: International Institute for Environment and Development. 1985; O. Otunnu, “Too Many, Too Long: African Refugee Crises Revisited,” *Refuge*, 12, 3 (1992): 18–26; R. M. Price, *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975–1990.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; R.E. Feinberg and V. Kallab, eds., *Adjustment Crisis in the Third World.* New Brunswick, USA and London: Transaction Books, 1984, especially: 5–10, 31–58.

[34] See, for a start, Roberts, ed., *Crisis Intervention Handbook*: 8–11; Miller and Iscoe, “The Concept of Crisis: Current Status and Mental Health Implications,”: 195–200; Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *The Crisis in Zaire*: 5–7.

[35] See, for example, Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *The Crisis in Zaire:* 5–7; J. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1973, especially: 68–75.

K.W. Grundy provided more light on the link between the crisis of legitimacy and political violence:

> The value of legitimacy is that such a regime need not maintain itself primarily by force. Thus, if a regime is perceived to be legitimate, the level of political violence is low, at least among that segment of the population so recognizing legitimacy....If legitimacy is withheld as an outcome of increasing systematic frustration, political violence grows and the regime must find alternative sources of support. The reaction is often a spread of regime violence and an augmentation of force capabilities on both sides.… Depending on how established order employs force, the result may be a widening of feelings of systemic frustration or the establishment of artificial and ominous calm.[38]

While it is true that every state faces a crisis of legitimacy and political violence, the intensity and duration of the crisis and the resulting political violence are far less in despotically weak and infrastructurally strong states than in despotically strong but infrastructurally weak states, or in despotically strong and infrastructurally strong states or in despotically weak and infrastructurally weak states.[39] There is more intense political violence and severe crisis of legitimacy in the latter three typologies of state powers because legitimacy of the states is vigorously and continually contested by those who inhabit it. Indeed, some inhabitants of such states do not regard the state, the institutions, the incumbents and their challengers as legitimate. In such a situation, the existence of the state does not rest on a secure foundation of popular belief in its right to exist, the relevance of the socio-economic and political institutions of the state and the legitimacy of the rulers to rule. The purposes or ends of governance are, therefore, contested; hence the state, its institutions and incumbents rely primarily on political violence, coercion and intimidation.

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[36] For an outstanding study that associates the crisis of legitimacy with increased tensions, instability and violence, see Kittrie, *The War Against Authority: From the Crisis of Legitimacy to a New Social Contract.*

[37] See, for a start, W. Connor, "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a....," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1, 4 (October 1978): 441, 455; P. Vallieres, *White Niggers of America: The Precocious Autobiography of Quebec "Terrorist."* New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

[38] Grundy, *Guerrilla Struggle in Africa*: 9–10.

[39] See, for example, Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results", in Hall, ed., *States in History*: 109–127.

In colonial and neocolonial societies, more often than not, the legitimacy of the states rested to a large extent on imperial laws, international law, international conventions, and international principles and practices that were associated with sovereignty as a legal condition of statehood. In the context of colonial societies, sovereignty of the colonized societies rested with the imperial colonizing power. Simply put, the legitimacy of these states were a result of other states and international persons recognizing them as sovereign states. Generally, these states, that have been important sites of severe crisis of legitimacy and prolonged political violence, experienced wide variations in despotic and infrastructural powers at any particular historical epoch. Indeed, the despotic and infrastructural powers of these states oscillated from time to time, depending on the length of time the state existed, its political heritage, culture and institutions, contested identities and aspirations, its economic history and base, its social complexity, and its interaction with both the internal and external environments. These states have exhibited many of the following characteristics: (i) the state is a recent creation of European expansionist political violence and lacks a strong root in the civil society; (ii) there is little distinction between the regime or the ruling party or the presidency and the state, for the three are closely fused and the state is a vehicle for the benefit and self-interests of the ruling elites and their "chosen" domestic and international allies; (iii) the state dominates the society and suffocates the limited and shrinking autonomous space of the incipient and utterly fragmented civil society; (iv) the regime is "captured" by particular groups, with the systematic exclusion of other groups. In such a system, the regime is run almost exclusively on the basis of patronage and clientelism. Similarly, the institutions of the state operate essentially through patron-client relations; (v) if the state has a strong infrastructure, then it penetrates the civil society through coercion and overt violence; (vi) the state is a major source of insecurity and deprivation. Accordingly, the state is incapable of providing security and other basic services to a sizable segment of the population; (vii) the regime relies heavily on violence, coercion and intimidation to maintain itself in power; (viii) the regime may not be despotically strong enough to control the territorial state; (ix) the territorial integrity of the state rests largely on international law, not on the popular will of the citizens; (x) the state is generally a tragic fiction because it lacks nationhood and is predatory; (xi) the state is chronically dependent on other states and international regimes for economic, military, political and social assistance. This chronic dependency, a common feature of juridical statehood, makes the state vulnerable to manipulation by external actors and institutions; (xii) the state is a supplier of low-priced raw materials and purchaser of high-priced manufactured goods; (xiii) the state is in search of hegemony; (xiv) more often than not, the regime does not assume power as a result of winning a freely and fairly contested election. Such a regime is also not recallable by the ruled and (xv) major state institutions, including the military and the judiciary, are controlled by those in power and serve the interests of that group.[40]

The despotic and infrastructural powers of states that are despotically weak but infrastructurally strong also oscillate from time to time, depending on how long each of the states has existed, its political culture and heritage, its economic history and base, its social complexity and its interactions with both the domestic and external environments. Generally, these states exhibit many of the following characteristics: (i) the state has existed for a long time and has a strong root in the civil society; (ii) there is a recognizable distinction between the regime or the ruling party and the state, and the state is not a vehicle for the sole benefit and self-interests of those in power; (iii) although the state and the civil society compete for autonomous space, the division between the state and the civil society is well established and honored through constitutional guarantees. This, among other things, constrains any attempt to suffocate the other; (iv) notwithstanding the tragic histories of the evolution of slave and settler states that rebaptized themselves as independent states and the control of key institutions by "big money," the regime, at least in the past decades, is not entirely captured by a particular group, with the systematic exclusion of other groups. Accordingly, the institutions of the state do not operate essentially through patron-client relations[41]; (v) the infrastructural strength of the state is not based on overt violence and intimidation. Rather, it is negotiated and guaranteed through the participation of the civil society. (vi) the state provides security and basic services to most of its population; (vii) the state and the incumbents enjoy a level of legitimacy that the ruled acknowledge. The state and incumbents, therefore, do not rely on violence, coercion and intimidation to maintain power; (viii) the regime is strong enough to control the entire territorial state; (ix) the territorial integrity of the state rests largely on the popular will of the citizens; (x) the state exists in the minds of the citizens because of a fairly well-developed sense of nationhood; (xi) the hegemony of the state is well established; (xii) the state is economically, militarily and politically less dependent on other states and international institutions than a state in the first category. The strength of the state places it in a better space to withstand external interventions and manipulations by other states and international persons; (xiii) the state is a producer of high-priced manufactured goods and purchaser of low-priced raw materials and high-priced manufactured goods; (xiv) the regime changes through constitutionally regularized procedures. The incumbents are also recallable by the electorates; and (xv) major institutions of the state, including the military, are firmly under civilian control, regardless of the regime in power. The characteristics of these states make them less prone to severe crisis of legitimacy and prolonged political violence.[42]

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[40] See, for example, Buzan, "The Concept of National Security for Developing Countries," in Ayoob and Samudavanija, eds., *Leadership Perceptions and National Security*: 1–2; O'Brien, "The Show of State in Neo-Colonial Twilight: Francophone Africa," in Manor, ed., *Rethinking Third World Politics*: 145–165; T. R. Gurr, "Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since 1945," *International Political Science Review*, 14, 2 (April 1993): 161–202; D. Rothchild, "Interethnic Conflict and Policy Analysis in Africa," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 9, 1 (January 1986): 66–86; J. A. Hall, ed., *States in History.*: 109–136, 154–176; C. Ake, "The Future of the State in Africa," *International Political Science Review*, 6, 1 (1985): 105–132; M. Mamdani, "Conceptualising State and Civil Society Relations: Towards a Methodological Critique of Contemporary Africanism," in C. Auroi, ed., *The Role of the State in Development Process*. London: Frank Cass, 1992: 15–23.

African states, Uganda included, belong to one of the political forms mentioned in the first category. In these forms of polity, the intensity and duration of the crisis of legitimacy and the resulting political violence reflect the tragic history of the construction and evolution of the states, the despotic and predatory nature of both the states and the ruling elites, and the exploitative nature of the international political economy of which the states are its most marginalized and chronically dependent members. To address the heritage of the severe crisis of legitimacy, those African regimes that were given constitutional instruments of liberal democracy in the terminal phase of colonial rule embraced and exercised them. However, they soon "discovered" that the level of structural poverty, lack of technological and industrial development, lack of economic and political integration on the domestic front, the vertical and parasitic relationship between the domestic and international economic systems, the political heritage of despotism and confrontation, and the vulnerability of the states to external manipulation and intervention by the major Cold War protagonists and their predecessors made what was historically necessary to realize the promise of independence, including political legitimacy and civil liberties, historically difficult.[43]

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[41] T. N. Clark, "Clientelism, USA: The Dynamics of Change", in L. Roniger and A. Gunes-Ayata, eds., *Democracy, Clientelism, and Civil Society*. Boulder, Colo: Lynee Rienner, 1994: 121–144, suggests a parallel between "Third World" patron-clients and American "machine politics."

[42] See Buzan, "The Concept of National Security for Developing Countries": 1–2; O'Brien, "The Show of State in Neo-Colonial Twilight: Francophone Africa": 145–65; Gurr, "Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since 1945": 161–202; Rothchild, "Interethnic Conflict and Policy Analysis in Africa": 66–86; Hall, ed., *States in History*: 109–136, 154–176.

From the general point of view of some governing elites, the states, whether advertised as socialist or capitalist, could not afford the luxury of liberties and democratic practice at that particular stage of economic underdevelopment and national disunity. Consequently, they, including those that seized power through revolutionary struggles such as Mozambique and Angola, promptly imposed various forms of developmental dictatorship and no-party or one-party rule.[44] As soon as the essential pre-requisites or pre-conditions for economic development and national integration emerge and gain deep root in the judicial states, the neocolonial rulers promised the masses that liberties and popular democratic legitimacy would be pursued.[45]

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[43] See, for example, A. A. Mazrui, "Conflict as a Retreat from Modernity: A Comparative Overview," in O. Furley, ed., *Conflict in Africa*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995: 19; B. Ingham, "The Meaning of Development: Interactions Between "New" and "Old" Ideas," *World Development*, 21, 11 (1993): 1803–1821.

[44] For the purpose of this study, developmental dictatorship refers to dictatorship whose existence is justified by those in position of power in terms of the need for economic development and national integration. Proponents of this political and economic form claim that economic development and democratic practice are incompatible at a particular stage of economic and political [under]development. For an excellent discussion of this concept, see R. Sklar, "Democracy in Africa," in P. Chabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 17–18. A. Leftwich, "Is there a socialist path to socialism?", *Third World Quarterly*, 13, 1 (1992): 27–42, also provides a good analysis about how the quest for socialism led to developmental dictatorship in "socialist" states.

Proponents of developmental dictatorship drew their lessons from a particular reading of what was historically possible in the evolution of democratic practice, liberties, national integration and economic development outside the continent. For example, the capitalists among them pointed to how liberal democracy was frozen in Western Europe and Japan until certain levels of industrialization had been achieved. In a similar vein, the socialists insisted that the "post-capitalist" regimes in Moscow, for example, adopted developmental dictatorship which created the necessary pre-condition for a rapid and sustainable industrialization of the society. For the chronically underdeveloped and fragmented states in Africa to develop, most of the regimes in Africa concluded, the states and societies should prepare for similar and prolonged birth pangs.[46]

After decades of structural and ravaging poverty, starvation, famines, debt crisis, crisis of legitimacy, instability and political violence in many states in Africa, proponents of developmental dictatorship, who without exception now advertised themselves as capitalists, insist that what is required is not the abandonment of the project but patience, more commitment and slight modifications. This time, they "voluntarily" embraced another form of developmental dictatorship, the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.[47] This time, the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs), particularly the gang of five: Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Brazil and China, are paraded as examples of countries where developmental dictatorship is creating rapid industrial economic development, capitalist middle classes, citizens suitable for an industrial milieu, and strong national societies. This development, it is religiously asserted, will gradually trickle down socio-economic and political benefits to the masses. These benefits, it is further claimed, will support an orderly transition to legitimacy via affluence. This legitimacy, in turn, will sustain the economic development, thus completing the stages of economic development and sustainable legitimacy.[48]

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[45] See, for a start, Sklar, "Democracy in Africa," in Chabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*: 17–29; Chabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa*: 1–29, Mazrui, "Conflict as a Retreat from Modernity": 19–27; L. Diamond, "Introduction: Roots of Failure, Seeds of Hope," in L. Diamond, J. J. Linz, and S. M. Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa*. Volume Two. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988: 13–23.

[46] See Chabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa*: 1–29; Sklar, "Democracy in Africa": 17–29; Mazrui, "Conflict as a Retreat from Modernity": 19–27; Diamond, et al., *Democracy in Developing Countries*: 13–23; Hall, ed., *States in History*: 154–176.

[47] These policies are often imposed and enforced through repression, coercion and political violence. For excellent analyses of the possible links between the structural adjustment policies and authoritarianism in Africa, see P. Gibbon, Y. Bangura and A. Ofstand, eds., *Authoritarianism and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa*. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1992; B. Onimode, *A Future for Africa: Beyond the Politics of Adjustment*. London: Earthscan, 1992; J. Torrie, ed., *Banking on Poverty: The Global Impact of IMF and World Bank*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1983; T.W. Pariff, "Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics: The World Bank/ECA Structural Adjustment Controversy," *Review of African Political Economy*, 47 (Spring 1990): 128–141.

The fashionable project of developmental dictatorship, which is often disguised and normalized as African forms of democracy and African solutions to African problems, increases the severe crisis of legitimacy in Africa and raises a number of questions: is there a well-defined path to capitalist development? Is there a well-defined path to socialist development? Should Africa follow the same path that liberal and economically advanced societies are presumed to have taken? What is a sound reading of the history of that path or those paths? How long will it take Africa to follow that evolutionary path without plundering the wealth of other regions? How long will it take Africa to follow the path without the type of capital infusion that Britain, Japan and West Germany received after World War Two? Should states in Africa accept the international economic market as it is? How long will it take Africa to follow the path without the level of capital infusion the NICs continue to attract as they combine capitalism with authoritarianism? How long will it take Africa to follow the path without controlling any aspect of its economy? What are the costs of following this uncharted path? Whose development do the prescriptions promote? Who pays those costs? Surely, Africa with its unique socio-economic and political history, should define a different equation of economic development and liberties—one that does not view liberties and legitimacy as inimical to any project of national unity and economic development. Such an equation will be consistent with the popular demands in Africa for accountability, legitimacy, liberties, human rights, human dignity and economic development. It is only then that the severe crisis of legitimacy and the resulting intense political violence will lend themselves to a higher level of resolution in Africa, Uganda included. [49]

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[48] See Hall, "States and Economic Development: Reflections on Adam Smith," in Hall, ed. *States in History*: 154–176. For discussions about the NICS, see, for a start, P. Donaldson, *Worlds Apart: The Development Gap and What it Means*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1986: 70–89; B. Crow and M. Thorpe, et al., *Survival and Change in the Third World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988: 210–241.

Rationale for the Study

Why focus on political violence in Uganda when many books and articles provide some commentaries on the subject? First, there is no study that focuses specifically on political violence in Uganda during this period, 1890-1979. Second, there are myriads of studies—including A.A. Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda*; A.G.G. Ginyera-Pincycwa, *Apollo Milton Obote and His Times: Issues in Pre-Independence Uganda*; A. Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military, 1890–1985*; F.B. Welbourn, *Religions and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*; J. Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History*; J.M. Mittleman, *Ideologies and Politics in Uganda: From Obote to Amin*; M. Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee: Ugandan Asians Come to Britain*; *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*; *Politics and Class Formation*; N. Kasfir, *The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African Politics: A Case Study of Uganda*; and S.R. Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*—that touch on some aspects of political violence in the country. The studies touch on the phenomenon because of its dominance in every aspect of life in the country. Taken together, the studies—which explain political violence in terms of imperialism, colonialism, regionalism, personality conflicts, ethnic conflicts, racial conflicts, class and intra-class conflicts, religious conflicts, conflicts over land, incompetent leadership, dictatorship, oppression, corruption, the nature of the state, institutional weakness, and economic underdevelopment and poverty—imply an important conclusion: that the persistence of intense political violence is directly related to the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions, incumbents and their challengers.[50] These implied conclusions, however, are not developed into an explanation for the persistence of political violence in the country. To be sure, the primary focus of the studies was not political violence.

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[49] Sklar, "Democracy in Africa": 17–29, maintained that legitimacy and economic development are not incompatible. The former President of Tanzania, J. Nyerere, made a similar observation during the Leadership Forum in Kampala in May 1991: "The worst deficit we have is the deficit of democracy. We thought we could develop without involving the people.... We tried to build socialism without socialists; we tried to create capitalism without entrepreneurs! But we tried. The West should pay us reparations for all the harm some of their ideas have done to us." Quoted in "Back to the Future," *New African*, July 1991: 11. Admittedly, the relationship between dictatorship and economic *cum* political development, on the one hand, and democracy and economic *cum* political development, on the other, remains a subject of endless controversy. See, for example, A. Benachenhu, "State and Civil Society: Prospects for the Theme," in C. Auroi, ed., *The Role of the State in Development Process*. London: Frank Cass, 1992: 7–13; G. Sorensen, "Democracy, Dictatorship and Development. Consequences for Economic Development of Different Forms of Regime in the Third World," in Auroi, ed., *The Role of the State in Development Process*: 39–57.

Second, some of the studies, including P. Mutibwa, *Uganda since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Hopes*, S.R. Karugire, *Roots of Instability*

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[50] See, for a start, A. A. Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda*. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1975; "Leadership in Africa: Obote of Uganda," *International Journal*, 3 (Summer 1970): 538–564; "Lumpen Proletariat and Lumpen Militariat: African Soldiers as a New Political Class," *Political Science*, 21, 1 (1973): 1–12; "The Social Origins of Ugandan Presidents: From King to Peasant Warrior," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 8, 1 (1974): 3–23; A. G. G. Ginyera-Pinycwa, *Apolo Milton Obote and His Times*. London: Nok Publishers (1978); *Issues in Pre-Independence Politics in Uganda*. Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1976; A. Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military, 1890–1985*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987; J. Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History*. London: Croom Helm (1981); J. M. Mittleman, *Ideologies and Politics in Uganda: From Obote to Amin*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975; F. B. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965;M. Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee: Ugandan Asians Come to Britain*. London: Frances Printer, 1973; *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*. N.J.: Africa World Press, 1984; *Politics and Class Formation*. London: Heinemann, 1977; N. Kasfir, *The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African Politics: A Case Study of Uganda*. Barkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1976; "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly Debate," *Transition*, 33, 7 (1967): 52–56; S. R. Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*. Nairobi & London: Heinemann, 1980; *Roots of Instability in Uganda*. Fountain Publishers, 1996. See also, C. Gertzel, "Leadership and Institution-Building in Uganda," *African Review*, 2, 1 (June 1972): 175–88; *Party and Locality in Northern Uganda, 1945–1962*. London: Athlone Press, 1974; C. Young, "The Obote Revolution," *Africa Report*, 11, 6 (June 1966): 8–14; "The Uganda Army: Nexus of Power," *Africa Report*, 11, 9 (1966): 37–39; M. E. Lofchie, "The Political Origins of the Ugandan Coup," *Journal of African Studies*, 1 (1972): 464–490; "The Ugandan Coup: Class Action by the Military," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10, 1 (May 1972): 19–35; M. H. Segall, M. Doornbos and C. Davis, "Political Identity: A Case Study from Uganda," *Foreign and Comparative Studies/Eastern Africa*. XXIV, Syracuse University (1976); R. Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?* Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1985; T. Aasland, "On the Move-to-the-Left in Uganda, 1967–1971," *Research Report*, 26 (Uppsala: the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (1974)); T. V. Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda, 1900–1986*. Hants, England: Gower Publishing, 1986; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission appointed to Review the Boundary between the Districts of Bugishu and Bukedi*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in Eastern Province*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1960.

in Uganda and M.S.M Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*, that are relevant to understanding political violence in Uganda, are fraught with serious problems of objectivity and intellectual honesty. For instance, they justify political violence by certain "friendly" actors while, in the same unapologetic breath, condemn similar acts by "unfriendly" actors.[51] To be sure, this is a common problem in the studies of political violence, terrorism and violations of human rights worldwide. Thus, Nardin commented that "it will often be argued that violent action by some parties to a conflict is more justifiable than similar actions by others…"[52] Given the ideological and emotional baggage such works carry, they fail to provide accurate accounts of the causes, persistence and effects of political violence in Uganda.

Third, many works borrow and impose concepts and methodologies that are historically unsuitable for the study of political history, including political violence, in Africa. For example, A.B.K. Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda, 1964-1985*, borrowed and imposed a brand of Gurr's frustration-aggression and relative deprivation theory as the main explanation of political violence in Uganda.[53] What Kasozi forgot was that Gurr's frustration-aggression and deprivation theory, highly sophisticated and rich in theoretical constructions as it is, is historically unsound and too weak to explain the persistence of political violence in Uganda. Indeed, if poverty or economic inequality was the major cause of political violence in Uganda, as Kasozi posited, then the peasants in Uganda would have been in arms at least since the construction and imposition of the colonial state. Nieburg's comment on the deprivation theory highlights another pitfall of the thesis adopted by Kasozi: "The view that violent outbreaks spring from deprivation neglects the obvious fact that such outbreaks occur selectively. Great deprivation may exist without such outbreaks, and outbreaks may occur without significant deprivation."[54] Even if Kasozi had not oversimplified the theory, Gurr's explanation of political violence has been subjected to serious assaults by some of the leading scholars in the field such as P. Wilkinson, E. Zimmermann and Nardin.[55] Another major problem with Kasozi's work is that it fails to demonstrate a balanced and objective understanding of the causes, nature, targets and consequences of "violence" during the period under review.

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[51] See, for example, P. Mutibwa, *Uganda since Independence*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1992; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*; S. R. Karugire, *Roots of Instability in Uganda*. Fountain Publishers, 1996. See also, Uganda Government, *The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*. Kampala, 1994; K. Ingham, *Obote: A Political Biography*. London & New York: Routledge, 1994; E. Mutesa, *The Desecration of My Kingdom*. London: Constable, 1967; Y. Museveni, *What is Africa's Problem*? Kampala: NRM Publications, 1992.

[52] Nardin, *Violence and the State* : 10.

[53] Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*: 4–10.

[54] Nieburg, *Political Violence: the Behavioral Process*: 40.

The final reason for this study reflects the urgent need to revisit and correct some of the conventional accounts of political violence offered by many historians and other scholars of Uganda. The need for a more critical and historically sound appraisal of existing works is not only consistent with the growing trend in contemporary scholarship but it also provides a better understanding of the nature, intensity and duration of political violence in Uganda.[56] The need for reassessment also stems from the need to incorporate a host of "new" data in examining political violence in Uganda. These data have been available for decades but have never been presented or analyzed for a variety of possible reasons: they were not consistent with the political and intellectual agenda of the scholars; they threatened the theories and methodologies the scholars were prepared to impose on the subject; "no one" was aware of their existence; or it was "difficult" to verify them. When such a reassessment is made and "new data" are incorporated, the history of political violence that emerges is better informed and markedly different from what many conventional works reveal.

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[55] See P. Wilkinson, "Social Scientific Theory of Violence", in Y. Alexander, D. Carlton and P. Wilkinson, eds., *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. Boulder, Colorado: WestView Press, 1979: 59; Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolutions*: 32, 142–3; Nardin, "Conflicting Conceptions of Political Violence": 101.

[56] Similar reappraisal have revealed serious flaws in many works. For example, C. Pratt, "Colonial Governments and the Transfer of Power in Africa," in P. Grifford and W.M. R. Louis, eds. *Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940–1960*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982: 249, pointed out that, unlike more recent confessions of lack of objectivity made in British writings on India, none, if any, is made on the British writings on Africa. Referring to the period of decolonization, he contended that a "great deal of highly sympathetic scholarly and semischolarly writing has praised the planning and foresight of the Colonial Office and the colonial governments during the period in which power was transferred." Some of the "sympathetic" British scholars he mentioned, such as D.A. Low and M. Perham, have been extensively quoted in many works on Uganda. In a similar vein, Chabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa*: 2–3, called for a reassessment of existing works on Africa "because of the unsatisfactory state of our understanding of the social and political processes which determine the fate of the continent." In his view, such an assessment is possible because the "added depth of historical perspective now makes it possible to see present-day African politics within its proper context." W. Conner, "When is a nation?", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13, 1 (January 1990), especially: 92–3, made a similar plea for the reassessment of the works of many distinguished historians of European nations because more recent works, including that by E. Weber, have repudiated an important portion of the conventional scholarship on European nations.

In order to place this history in its proper context, it is necessary to examine, in a chronological order, various events that contributed to, and resulted from, political violence in the country. This approach is necessary because it provides a comprehensive understanding of the nature, intensity, duration, location and effects of political violence in the country. It will also correct existing views about political violence that ignore "other" equally important events that individually and collectively contributed to the intensity, duration and effects of the crisis. Although such an approach has substantial analytical advantages, it makes the work somewhat bulky and repetitive. It is hoped that the analytical advantages will offset this problem.

A Note About Data

This study utilizes oral data collected by the author in 1983 for a study of political violence during the 1980 elections in Gulu, Kitgum, Kampala, Mbarara, Soroti, Mbale, Arua, Lira, Kasese, Kisoro and Jinja. Similar oral data were gathered in 1984 by the author during a country-wide fact-finding mission by the Makerere University Students' Guild. The mission took the author and 17 other students to every district and sub-district in the country. Another set of data was gathered from ordinary Ugandans and prominent political and military officials in Uganda from 1980 to 2015. These data were collected by the author through conversations and interviews. Between 1991 and 2015, oral interviews and conversations were conducted specifically for this study. Many Ugandans refugees living in Canada, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda, Sweden, Norway, the USA, South Africa and the UK were interviewed. The respondents were selected both purposively and randomly. Information was obtained through conversations, participant observation and interviews. The choice of conversational and/or structured interviews was determined largely by the respondents and the prevailing research environment. To protect the identity of those respondents who requested anonymity, this study will refer to them by number. Where providing specific dates of interviews and conversations may reveal the identity of those who requested anonymity, the study will provide only the number, month and place of interviews and conversations. This technique of documenting people's experiences and perceptions of political violence reflects the threat of carrying out research on the subject in a country that continues to experience widespread and intense political violence.

Another major source of data for this study came from published and unpublished works, including books, articles, papers, reports, correspondence, parliamentary debates and news items. These were obtained from various resource centers, libraries and archives, including the Makerere University Library in Kampala, the Macmillan Library in Nairobi, the Commonwealth Institute at Oxford University, Rhodes Library in Oxford, the Public Record Office at Kew Gardens, Amnesty International in London and Toronto, the US Committee for Refugees in Washington, D.C., Refugee Studies Programme at Oxford University, the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Geneva and Nairobi.

While the data collected are quite useful in the study, they present a common problem of reliability. To minimize this problem, this study adopted and modified many research techniques from works of scholars such as J. Vansina, J. Tosh, M. Glazer, D.J. Casley and D.A. Lury.[57] It also used multiple sources of information to critically evaluate the data obtained. This also meant providing as many different sources as possible on a particular information. The decision to provide many sources is also based on the need to acknowledge sources from competing camps in the conflict and/or competing camps in the study of political violence.

A Note About Chapters

This study has four chapters in all. Chapter 1 commences with an overview description and analysis of relations within and between pre-colonial societies that later became parts of the colonial state, Uganda. This chapter is critical in explaining the nature of pre-colonial states, traditional concepts and practice of legitimacy, and the history of political violence in the societies. It also reveals lines of continuity and discontinuity in the history of political violence from pre-colonial states to the colonial state. Here, the focus is largely on three pre-colonial states: Bunyoro-Kitara, Buganda and Acoli. The first two are examples of centralized polities that were despotically strong and infrastructurally strong for a substantial period of their existence. However, during periods of major political upheavals, the states became despotically strong but infrastructurally weak. The oscillating powers of either states was consistent with the social complexity of the state, the political culture of the state and the prevailing domestic and external environments at a particular epoch. This observation about the powers of the two centralized pre-colonial states repudiates or modifies the popular and implied claims in other works: the states were despotically weak but infrastructurally strong, or the states were despotically strong but infrastructurally weak throughout their history. Acoli, on the other hand, is an example of a decentralized polity that was despotically weak but infrastructurally strong. The infrastructural strength of the state reflected the political culture of the state and the fact that the state and the civil society were closely wedded. Again, this observation turns on its head the popular but historically unsubstantiated claim that the state was either despotically weak and infrastructurally weak or despotically strong but infrastructurally weak. These states are chosen because they offer important lessons about state powers, legitimacy and political violence in the pre-colonial societies. They also allow for a critical appraisal of political violence and its consequences during the colonial period. The period under review is 1500 to 1889.

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[57] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition*. Middlesex, England, Penguin Books, 1973; J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. London & New York: Longman, 1984: 48–64, 93–126, 152–196; M. Glazer, *The Research Adventure: Promise and Problems of Field Work*. Toronto: Random House, 1972; D. J. Casley and D. A. Lury, *Data Collection in Developing Countries*. Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive analysis of the history of political violence during the colonial period, 1890 to 1962. Informed by the growing knowledge of Ugandan and African studies, the chapter revisits, questions and breaks with many existing assumptions and analytical traditions about the nature, duration and magnitude of political violence during this period. Among other things, it shows that the colonial state was despotically strong but infrastructurally weak during the period of colonial penetration. Once colonial rule had been effectively established through political violence, exploitation and the colonial policies of divide and rule, the colonial state became despotically strong and infrastructurally strong. This despotically strong and infrastructurally strong state, whose existence resulted largely from European expansionist political violence and imperial concept of legitimacy, began to lose some of its strengths during the period of decolonization. The waning powers of the colonial state resulted from the erosion of the infrastructure of violence, repression and control during the terminal phase of the colonial rule. This development prepared the ground for the transition of state powers: from despotically strong and infrastructurally strong to despotically strong but infrastructurally weak. The transition guaranteed the persistence of the state as an important site of severe crisis of legitimacy and political violence. Unlike the despotically strong and infrastructurally strong state, the despotically strong but infrastructurally weak state became an important site of political instability. The chapter also highlights various forms of conflicts which were the hallmarks of the colonial project: religious conflicts, racial conflicts, regional conflicts, ethnic conflicts, conflicts over land, economic conflicts, leadership conflicts, rebellions of the suppressed, rebellions of the disenfranchised and conflicts generated by the forced transition from "traditionalism" to "modernity." These conflicts, which outlived the era of formal colonialism, have remained important features of the political landscape of the neocolonial state.

Chapter 3 examines why and how the first neocolonial regime failed to address the quadruple heritage of colonialism: kleptocracy, dictatorship or the political culture of the colonial project, chronic economic underdevelopment and fragmented state. It also explains why and how the failure by the Obote regime to address the severe crisis of legitimacy sustained the crisis and political violence. This period, 1962–1971, also marked the transitions from experimental liberal democracy to developmental dictatorship in the country. During this period, the transition of state powers from infrastructurally strong to infrastructurally weak, which began on the eve of independence, gained rapid momentum and made the neocolonial state despotically strong but infrastructurally weak. This chapter also launches an examination of the effects of the crisis of legitimacy on the press, refugees and migrations.

Chapter 4 chronicles how and why political violence increased during the Amin regime, 1971–1979. It also shows how the regime, like the previous one, attempted desperately to address the severe crisis of legitimacy on two fronts: the domestic and the external. In terms of the powers of the state, this period witnessed increased despotic power and decreased infrastructural power. On the eve of the collapse of the regime, the state became despotically and infrastructurally weak, thereby making the state an important site of anarchy, collective violence and lawlessness.

CHAPTER 2

Background: Legitimacy and Political Violence in Pre-Colonial Societies

T. Nardin noted that:

> A good place to begin a discussion of political violence in terms of the context of social interaction within which it occurs is with the concept of authority. For authority in the eyes of many is what the conflict is about–whether it is the evils of authority that are cited as a justification for protest or revolt, or its breakdown which is deplored as containing the source of conflict, disorder, and violence.[1]

Pre-colonial African societies, which would later be forcibly lumped into the colonial state, Uganda, comprised two broadly defined types of state systems: centralized and decentralized systems.[2] In both political systems, traditional religions, myths, fictions, customs, political culture and histories determined who could legitimately hold political power, how and why that power was to be exercised, the obligations and rights of the rulers and the ruled; and what institutions were appropriate for the states. Central to the political forms was the idea that the states and their institutions were constructed through social contracts between the rulers and the ruled. These contracts, which were sanctioned by the divine authority and customs, provided the states and their institutions with legitimacy, identity, continuity, cohesion and relative peace and stability. The con-

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[1] T. Nardin, *Violence and the State: A Critique of Empirical Political Theory*. Beverly Hills, 1971: 34.

[2] See Karugire *A Political History of Uganda*: 1–7, 21–22.

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tracts also provided the incumbents with legitimacy. Whenever these contracts were violated, the idea further posited, a crisis of political legitimacy claimed the political landscape. More often than not, existing institutions, customs, political culture and traditional religions prevented the crisis from becoming a common feature of the political landscape or from leading to a prolonged political violence.[3]

Centralized States

There were four centralized pre-colonial states in what later became known as Uganda: Bunyoro-Kitara, Buganda, Ankole and Toro. According to many historians of Uganda, including S.R. Karugire, R.J. Reid, R.M. Bere, P. Crazzolara and E. Steinhart, the centralization of these states was largely the work of the Luo-speakers who came from southern Sudan. This process of centralization of the state led to the gradual concentration of political power in the hands of the new rulers, who, through careful negotiations with the clans, took advantage of opportunities presented by local and long-distance trade and successful territorial conquests to gradually reinvent and manipulate customs, existing institutions, histories and traditional religions to legitimize the "new states" and their power. For example, although traditions did not directly provide the rulers with the divine bodies, they stood on the shoulders of the founding rulers who had been elevated—through myths, fictions, invention of histories and memories, rituals and succession ceremonies—to the status of demi gods.

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[3] See, for example, Karugire, Ibid: 3–6; M. Gluckman, *Customs and Conflict in Africa*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966: 28. For an excellent discussion about the importance of traditional religions in defining and maintaining legitimacy and order in pre-colonial African states, see J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann, 1982: 1–2, 182–187. Imperial, colonial and Christian missionary "scholars" and administrators, however, claimed that pre-colonial Africa was generally in the Hobbessian state of nature. See, for example, J.R.L. Macdonald, *The Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*. London & New York: Edward Arnold, 1897: 308–10; K. Ingham, "British Administration in Lango District," *Uganda Journal*, 19, 2, (1955): 156; A. Tarantino, "Lango Wars," *Uganda Journal*, 12, 2 (September 1948): 230. Political legitimacy has always been associated with the emergence and evolution of states. Historically, the basis of the legitimacy of a state changed depending on local and international developments. See, among others, F. Gazdag, "Nation, Regionalism and Integration in Central and Eastern Europe," *Occasional Research Paper # 4*. Athens: Pantheon University, Institute of International Relations (December 1992); Anthony D. Smith, "The Origins of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 12, 3 (July 1989): 341–367.

The "new rulers," as successors to the demi gods, also inherited key elements of legitimacy because traditions further claimed that the demi gods brought the original or natural laws and customs to regulate relations within the state, and between the state and the ontological order. This legitimation ideology also presented the new rulers, the states, the institutions and the laws as morally appropriate for the subjects. Additionally, it represented the states as representative of the interests of its members and as competent and just conflict managers.[4]

Through socialization, invented and shared historical experiences and negotiations, the rulers and the subjects "agreed" on the criteria of political legitimacy. For example, it was agreed, at a particular juncture in the evolution of monarchical ideologies, that the chief mode of access to political power was through birth into a royal family which represented the interests of every clan in the state. This monarchic ideology of legitimacy meant that only specific royal candidates could contest for state leadership. Such an arrangement maintained the primacy of the monarchy and reduced protracted competition for political power. It was also "contracted" that whenever the highest political office in the state fell vacant, legitimate royal candidates could elect a single candidate or the clans could support a candidate who was most likely to protect the interests of every clan. In situations where space for peaceful succession was blocked by uncompromising royal candidates and their supporters, limited political violence was sanctioned as a legitimate procedure of determining the strongest and the most appropriate candidate to assume power. This violence was also intended to eliminate other legitimate candidates from providing a divided locus for political power in the state. The social contract further demanded that the kings, constituted by custom and guided by divine presence and representative institutions to rule over the people, "shepherd" their "flock" and defend them from oppression, despotism, violence and other forms of human insecurity. At least in theory, this meant that the ruled could withdraw legitimacy from kings who violated the obligations to protect the population from violence, injustices and avoidable human insecurity. The ruled could then proceed to choose new kings from acknowledged royal families.[5] Thus, M. Gluckman noted that withholding legitimacy from, or rebelling against, rulers who did not honor their political obligations and/or abused their divine offices was common throughout Africa: "when subordinates turn against a leader… they may only turn against him personally, without necessarily revolting against the authority of the office he occupies."[6]

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[4] See Karugire *A Political History of Uganda: 1–7*, 21–2; R.M. Bere, "Awich – A bibliographical Note and a Chapter of Acholi History," *Uganda Journal*, 10, 1 (March 1946), especially: 76; J.P. Crazzolara, "The Lwoo People," *Uganda Journal*, 5, 1 (July 1937): 2–21; "Lwoo Migrations," *Uganda Journal*, 25, 1 (March 1961): 136–148; E. Steinhart, "The Emergence of Bunyoro: the Tributary Mode of Production and the Formation of the State, 1400–1900," in A.I. Salim, ed., *State Formation in Eastern Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985: 70–90; R.J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda: Economy, Society and Welfare in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: James Curry, 2003:3–5. Kittrie, *The War Against Authority:* 4–5, maintained that similar ideas about legitimacy that existed throughout much of human history. The best example he provided is that of European medieval feudal societies. In his major study of the fiction of the King's Two Bodies, its transformation, implications and radiations, E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957: 3, warned that "[p]olitical mysticism in particular is exposed to the danger of losing its spell or becoming quite meaningless when taken out of its native surroundings, its time and space."

Revolting against the king but not against the authority of his office was consistent with the traditions that the king had only one body: the natural body. The king's natural body is mortal, subject to infirmities, passions and weaknesses that every human body experiences. This body, which may make the king violate his obligation and abuse his office, is what the ruled may disobey and revolt against. The office and the institutions, on the other hand, are constituted by customs and the divine authority for the direction and protection of the people and the management of public affairs. Put differently, the sovereign role remained intact, even if a particular king proved incapable of meeting the obligations of the office. In practice, however, it was rare to withdraw legitimacy or revolt against a king who violated the contract because, more often than not, the king acted as if he had two bodies: the human body and the divine body. In this fusion, the king acted as if his behavior stemmed from the divine body, which has no weakness and natural defects and is constituted by the divine authority for the direction and protection of the people and the management of the affairs of the state. To be sure, even when some rulers in the centralized pre-colonial states became despotic, especially toward the end of the pre-colonial era, successful revolts were rare because the clans and existing institutions restrained the despotic powers of the kings and maintained the strong infrastructural powers of the state.[7]

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[5] For a start, see Karugire, *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896.* London: Oxford University Press, 1971: 81–4; D.E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967: 20–28.

[6] Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*: 28.

Bunyoro-Kitara, 1500–1889

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bunyoro-Kitara was the largest, most powerful and most hierarchically centralized polity in what later became pre-colonial Uganda. At the apex of the political pyramid was the *Mukama* (king), followed by the Sacred Guild (senior political advisors and protectors of Mukamaship), provincial chiefs, district chiefs and lower administrative functionaries. More often than not, state administrators were appointed by the Mukama from every clan with the approval of the clans. The clans, which represented the interests of the local citizens and restrained abuse of political power at every level of the state, were also directly linked to the monarchy through intermarriages. Another important characteristic feature of the state was that it had a strong standing army, the *abarasura*. The primary functions of the army were to protect the sovereignty of the state, protect major domestic markets and trade routes, settle disputes and conquer new territories.[8]

Through the re-invention of history, customs, religion and rituals by the new rulers, the Banyoro cherished the Mukamaship as a morally, legally, socially and politically legitimate institution. Customs, legends, religion and rituals also emphasized, justified and legitimized the concentration of power in the hands of the Mukama. According to J.S. Beattie, the Banyoro believed that almost every power and authority in the society originated from and was sanctioned by the Mukama:

> In some African societies the homely idiom of kinship is extended even into the field of political relations: in Bunyoro the tendency is in the reverse direction: here the idiom of government, of ruling, is extended from the

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[7] For an excellent discussion about the myths of the king's two bodies, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, especially: 1–86.

[8] See J.W. Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973: 1–106; J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Bunyoro*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923, especially: 1–20, 51–72; J. Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960, especially: 16–24; T.B. Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effects of Colonialism in Uganda*. Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1974: 21–23; Karugire, *A Political History*, especially: 19–21.

> political into the community and even into the domestic sphere. Such a state of affair is consistent with the centralized, ‘feudal’ structure of Bunyoro, in which all authority, right down to the base of the pyramid, is thought of as being at least ideally derived from and validated by the Mukama.[9]

What Beattie, however, ignored was the fact that the clans, village councils and customs provided significant power and legitimacy to the Mukama and, at the same time, checked that power. What Beattie’s observation suggests is that the monarchial ideology of legitimacy and the political structure of the state, at least toward the end of the pre-colonial era, made Bunyoro-Kitara despotically strong and infrastructurally strong. It was infrastructurally strong because the “idiom of government, of ruling,” penetrated and was embraced by the society. Furthermore, the ideology of legitimacy of the Mukama and the Mukamaship, the nature and roles of both the political structure and the *abarasura* strengthened the infrastructural penetration and control of the society. The monarchial ideology of legitimacy also provided the state with stability, identity, cohesion, continuity, law and order.

Notwithstanding the roles of the clans, village councils and the landed aristocracy in restraining the despotic powers of the Mukama and state administrators, the elevation of the Mukama as the sole representative and protector of Bunyoro-Kitara marred the distinction between the interests of the state and those of the Mukama. It was, therefore, not surprising that any threat or challenge to the policies of the Mukama could be construed as a threat to the interests, security and legitimacy of Bunyoro-Kitara. It then followed from this legitimation ideology that political violence against perceived regime challengers could be justified in the name of maintaining law and order and protecting the interests and sovereignty of the state. For example, when Katenga, a Musaigi, fatally wounded the father of Mukama Olimi III Isansa, the Mukama decreed that the Basaigi clan in Bunyoro-Kitara had committed treason against the state. Such an act was considered a treason because, as Mbiti noted, the death of a king in Bunyoro-Kitara brought “the rhythm of life to a standstill” and upset the stability of the state.[10] To punish and deter such an act, the Mukama ordered a collective punishment which nearly wiped out the entire Basaigi clan.[11]

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[9] Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 9–10.

[10] Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*: 184.

The concentration of enormous powers in the hands of the king and the brutality with which he could punish his perceived opponents, such as the Basaigi clan, highlighted a number of points. First, the Mukamaship and the state, at least in this instance, were fused into the personhood of the Mukama. Second, the state became despotically strong and retained strong infrastructural powers in most parts of the state. In this instance, the infrastructural power of the state remained grounded in the popular support of the citizens unaffected by the collective political violence. Third, the despotic state lost its legitimacy among the primary target of the collective political violence. In this instance, the infrastructural power of the state which had been based on popular support was now based on coercion. Political legitimacy of the state and the incumbents also became divisible.

The death of a mukama, as Mbiti suggested, created a power vacuum. A power vacuum, by its very nature, generates anarchy and a crisis of leadership and loyalty. To prevent such a crisis from destabilizing and tearing apart the state or becoming a persistent feature of the political landscape, legitimate royal candidates were required to negotiate and present a single candidate to assume power. However, if the legitimate royal candidates failed to agree on a single candidate, traditions encouraged them to mobilize their supporters and engage in a brief and decisive political violence to win the vacant seat. J. Roscoe, for example, observed how the war of succession was fought:

> There was a general rush for arms; fighting began at once and continued until one of the rivals was killed, when all his followers submitted to the victor and became his men. It seldom happened that more than two princes fought for the throne, the others would look on and accept the result of the combat. Sometimes, however, several would claim it, and whatever the number of rivals might be, the fighting would not end until only one of them was left alive.[12]

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[11] E.G. Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*. Kampala: Nile Valley Pyramid Publishing, 1986: 3.

[12] Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*: 123. See also, Beattie, *Bunyoro*: *An African Kingdom*: 27.

In this instance, political violence was sanctioned and institutionalized as a legitimate procedure to address the crisis of legitimacy that resulted from the death of a king. Such a crisis of legitimacy threatened the very survival of the state.

Although wars of succession were required to be brief and decisive, at times they dragged on long enough to destabilize the state and threaten its sovereignty. For example, the succession war that brought Winyi II Rubagiramasega to power in 1570 dragged on for such a long period that it destabilized Bunyoro-Kitara, caused serious famines and starvation, generated many refugees and claimed many more lives.[13] Similarly, the succession war that brought Kamurasi to power around 1851 was so protracted that it violently uprooted thousands of Banyoro and claimed hundreds of lives.[14] The most recent war of succession took place in 1869, between Kabalega and Kabigure. This war devastated Bunyoro-Kitara so much that the brother of the deceased king, Prince Nyaika, and clan leaders ordered the victorious royal candidate, Mukama Chua II Kabalega, to observe Bunyoro's laws of succession and just-war conventions and end the war.[15]

Relations between Bunyoro-Kitara and its Neighbors

In the sixteenth century, the rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara waged wars against the southern states of Buganda, Ankole and Rwanda. The wars were intended to maintain and enhance the legitimacy of the state and the incumbents by replenishing livestock in Bunyoro, deterring external threats to the state, and annexing new territories. According to Karugire, Roscoe and J.W. Nyakatura, the campaigns took place when Bunyoro-Kitara was strong enough to win them. Such a consideration was important because losing a campaign could erode the legitimacy of both the state and the incumbents.[16]

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[13] See Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 2–3.

[14] See, for example, A. Tarantino, "Lango Wars," *Uganda Journal*, 12, 2 (September 1948): 233; J.M. Gray, "Acholi History, 1860–1901," *Uganda Journal*, 15, 2 (September 1951): 121; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 31, 42.

[15] See Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 110, 112; Karugire, *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896*: preface.

[16] See Karugire, *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896*: 33–4; Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*: 305–314; Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 72–5.

The continuous annexations of new territories and overexpansion of the state, however, made it impossible for the Mukama to closely control and monitor political developments in the outlying provinces. The inability of the Mukama to control the outlying provinces also eroded the infrastructural powers of the state and destabilized the political systems. These crises of governance and political legitimacy were compounded, for example, by the failing health of Mukama Kyebambe III. Indeed, the failing health of the Mukama also symbolized the failing health of the state. This was more than a political metaphor because traditions in Bunyoro-Kitara, like in the neighboring centralized states, linked the health of a king to the health of the state. The failing health of the state was exacerbated by the anxiety and increased instability generated by the emergence of Buganda as the dominant regional power. The result was that the despotically weak and infrastructurally weak state became an important site of political violence and instability, which, in turn, encouraged some provincial commissioners and chiefs to successfully rebel against the king and the state.[17] These developments also encouraged Prince Kaboyo, who had grown tired of waiting for his ailing father to die, to ally with the provincial administrators of one of the outlying provinces, Toro, and wage a war against the Mukama and the state. After defeating the army of the despotically weak and infrastructurally weak Bunyoro-Kitara, Kaboyo declared Toro an independent state. The secession took place between 1817 and 1830.[18]

The secession radically eroded the legitimacy of Bunyoro-Kitara as a sovereign state and the sole and legitimate representative of every Munyoro, challenged the sovereignty of the Mukamaship, generated a profound crisis of identity between the Banyoro and the Batoro and promoted suspicion and conflicts between the two states. The resulting suspicion and conflicts made it impossible for Bunyoro-Kitara to recognize the legitimacy and sovereignty of Toro.[19] The secession also led to the creation of a new state, Toro, that became somewhat despotically strong but infrastructurally weak. Compared to Bunyoro-Kitara or Buganda, for example, Toro had much limited despotic power because of the weak leadership and the short length of its existence as a state. Its infrastructural power was also weak because of its recent emergence through war as an independent centralized state.

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[17] Karugire, *A Political History*: 20–1, 34–7.

[18] See Karugire, *A Political History*: 43; Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 16–24; Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Bunyoro*; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation:* 21–23; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 3–4.

[19] Karugire, *A Political History*: 43; Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 16–24.

As the despotic and infrastructural powers of Bunyoro-Kitara declined, it fought only defensive wars against the new regional power: Buganda. However, this changed when one of the most charismatic kings of Bunyoro-Kitara, Mukama Chua II Kabalega, came to power in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among other things, Mukama Kabalega shored up the legitimacy and military power of the state by carrying out massive administrative, economic, military and political reforms. The result was that from the 1860s to 1889, Bunyoro-Kitara became despotically strong and infrastructurally strong. In this instance, the infrastructural powers of the state stemmed from the popular support of its citizens because of the protection, stability and welfare the state provided. During this period, the state also regained its regional superpower status. As a superpower, it once again waged successful wars against Buganda.[20]

While Bunyoro-Kitara's relations with the southern states were punctuated by political violence, its relations with the northern neighbors were characterized by peaceful co-existence. J.P. Crazzolara explained this peaceful co-existence in terms of the common origins of the ruling house of Bunyoro-Kitara and the peoples of Acoli, Jo pa Luo and Alur:

> Most of the present Acooli [*sic*] clans (of Lwoo origin) and many Aluur [*sic*] clans claim to have come from 'Loka' at an early date.... The separated groups, the Acooli, Aluur, Jo pa Lwoo and Banyoro, have always lived on friendly terms, each feeling himself at home in the other's country and movements to and fro have continued ever since up till now; in fact, tradition never mentions wars.... The history of various sub-tribes [*sic*] of the Acooli, etc., mentions many instances where the injured ruling dynasty took refuge in Bunyoro or referred the dispute to the *Mukama* of Bunyoro. His judgment was never enforced but respected.[21]

The theory of kinship as an explanation for the peaceful co-existence between Bunyoro-Kitara and its northern neighbors, however, is inadequate because similar kinship ties among the ruling houses of Bunyoro-Kitara, Buganda, Ankole and Toro did not prevent them from going to war against each other.[22] In fact, many of the ruling houses of these states had another layer of kinship ties because they were furnished by the same stock of Luo migrants. To the theory of kinship should be added the significance of the trade monopoly Bunyoro-Kitara enjoyed in the northern states. The monopoly dictated a policy of peaceful co-existence between Bunyoro-Kitara and its northern neighbors.[23] Another important factor that promoted a policy of accommodation and collaboration in Bunyoro-Kitara's foreign policy toward the northern states was highlighted by G.N. Uzoigwe: "Bunyoro herself could not have attempted, with any hope of success, the subjugation of these peoples with their long history of democratic decentralization and their being unused to accepting regal personal authority."[24]

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[20] Karugire, *A Political History*: 32–33, 35, 45–6.

[21] J.P. Crazzolara, "The Lwoo People," *Uganda Journal*, 5, 1 (July 1937): 12–13. See also, J.M. Gray, "Rwot Ochama of Payera," *Uganda Journal*, 12 1 (March 1948): 121; F.K. Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*. London: HMSO, 1960: 9–10; R.M. Bere, "Awich – A Biographical note and a chapter of Acholi History," *Uganda Journal*, 10, 1 (March 1946): 76.

Bunyoro-Kitara and Turco-Egyptian Imperialism

Between the 1820s and 1880s, Bunyoro-Kitara was pre-occupied with containing the destabilizing political threat that stemmed from the encroaching Turco-Egyptian imperialists. This threat did not only upset the emerging balance of power between Bunyoro-Kitara and its southern neighbors, but it also challenged the legitimacy of Bunyoro-Kitara as a sovereign state. For example, in early 1860, Mukama Kamurasi received news that the Turco-Egyptian imperialists in the Sudan were planning to extend their hegemony to the northern democracies and then to Bunyoro-Kitara. This news caused political anxiety in the state.[25] Immediately two Victorian explorers, James Grant and John Speke, departed from Bunyoro-Kitara's court in 1862, and a large number of Turkish and Arab invaders descended on the state and murdered, raped and took many Banyoro as slaves. By coincidence, the invaders came to Bunyoro-Kitara along the very route the two Victorian explorers had taken on their way from the state. This coincidence forced the Banyoro to become less accommodating toward "white-looking" strangers.[26]

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[22] See, for example, Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 7.

[23] Ibid: 27.

[24] G.N. Uzoigwe, *Tarikh*, 2, 2 (1970), cited in Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 30–31.

[25] See Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 113–114. For a useful discussion of the activities of the Turco-Egyptian regime in Sudan, see A.A. Boahen, ed., *General History of Africa*. Vol. VII. Berkeley: University of California, 1990: 39–43.

The following year (1863), Samuel Baker and his wife arrived in Bunyoro from the north. They were accompanied by Turkish, Arab and Sudanese slave and ivory raiders. During their stay at Bunyoro-Kitara's court, Baker's troops burned down crops and villages, captured many slaves and confiscated large quantities of ivory. This unprovoked political violence shocked Kamurasi and his subjects. In keeping with his legitimate role as the protector of the state and his people, Kamarusi condemned Baker's troops for abusing the hospitality of Bunyoro-Kitara. Baker took Kamarusi's condemnation as a threat to his legitimacy, based on whiteness as legitimate power and civilization. He then lectured Kamarusi and his subjects on European imperial civilization and morality. At the end of the lecture, he promptly dismissed Bunyoro's political system and laws as barbaric and illegitimate.[27]

In 1872, Sir Samuel Baker returned to Bunyoro in his new capacity as the Governor General of Equatoria Province. This time, he met with a new king of Bunyoro-Kitara, Mukama Chua II Kabalega. While he was in Bunyoro-Kitara, Baker unilaterally declared the territory a portion of the Equatoria Province. This declaration angered the Banyoro because, according to well-established traditions of the land, Baker had no legitimate power to challenge the sovereignty and independence of the state. Accordingly, Kabalega told Baker that the imperial declaration was a political fiction. Baker responded by ordering his slave-raiding troops to pillage the state and generate overwhelming terror in order to force Kabalega to surrender the sovereignty of his state. These harrowing acts of political violence, however, did not persuade Kabalega to recognize the imperial presence. Beattie described how Baker responded to Kabalega's position: "Baker mowed down large numbers of Nyoro with a Maxim gun, set fire to the king's enclosure and the neighboring villages."[28] Baker's troops expanded the campaign by capturing a large number of slaves, confiscating large quantity of ivory and livestock, and murdering many more Banyoro. Crops were also destroyed and more villages were razed to the ground. The intensity of this violence forced Kabalega to become a refugee in Kibwona. From his refuge, he sent messages of peace and conciliation to

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[26] See Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 119–123.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 20. See also, Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 119–123.

Baker. However, Baker wanted nothing less than the total surrender of the independence of Bunyoro. Unable to get what he wanted in Bunyoro, and pressed by time to depart, Baker left for Europe, where he embarked on a determined smear campaign against Bunyoro-Kitara and Mukama Chua II Kabalega. From that moment, the Banyoro and their king were presented as some of the most primitive, backward, slave-holding, uncivilized and anti-European people in the heart of the "dark continent."[29] These invented images of the Banyoro would influence subsequent relations between the state and European imperialists.

When Colonel Gordon succeeded Baker as the Governor General of Equatoria, he refused to deal with the legitimate king of Bunyoro-Kitara, Kabalega, because the king defended the independence and sovereignty of the state. Instead, Gordon attempted to work with a man who had been appointed by Baker as the new king of Bunyoro-Kitara, Ruyonga. This coup, however, aborted because Ruyonga did not meet the traditional criteria of political legitimacy.[30] Gordon then embarked on another strategy to weaken Kabalega and Bunyoro-Kitara: he "declared" war against slavery in a state that did not have institutions of slavery. The "declaration" justified and normalized imperial violence against Bunyoro-Kitara and exposed the hypocrisy of the imperial projects because Gordon was busy capturing slaves, or what some imperial and colonial historians referred to as "porters." The slaves he captured were required to transport ivory, cattle and other foodstuff that had been raided from the Banyoro. In any event, Gordon's imperial mission failed in Bunyoro.[31]

In 1878, Emin Pasha replaced Gordon. Unlike his predecessors, Pasha worked closely with Kabalega and enjoyed very cordial relations with Bunyoro-Kitara. From his own account, Kabalega and his subjects were not opposed to the presence of white people; rather, they were opposed to any attempt to destroy their state and independence. The image of Kabalega and the Banyoro that Pasha attempted to promote, however, was not popular among the architects of imperialism in the region because it challenged the concealment of imperial hegemony in Africa.[32]

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[29] See Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 119–123.

[30] Beattie, *Bunyoro*: *An African Kingdom*: 17–21; Macdonald, *The Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 308–310; Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 114–119; Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Bunyoro*: 89.

[31] Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 114–119.

[32] Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom:* 17–21; Macdonald, *The Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 308–310; Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 114–119.

Buganda, 1500–1889

By the fifteenth century, the legitimacy of the centralized state of Buganda reflected the popular consent of its citizens transmitted through and checked by village councils, lineage-based councils and the clans. The clan systems, which were based on merit and participatory democracy and provided the foundation of the state, also played critical roles of containing inequalities, securing and protecting the welfare of the citizens and protecting community-held land, humanizing the kabakaship (kingship), and checking the powers of the king (Kabaka) and his appointed chiefs.[33] M.S.M.S. Kiwanuka observed other legitimating roles of the clan systems and clan heads (Bataka):

> The bataka had a right to present girls to the king, thereby giving every clan an opportunity to provide a successor to the throne. Such a system ensured the equality of clans and prevented the rise of a ruling clan. The absence of a royal clan was achieved through what seems to be an elaborate arrangement whereby royal children belonged to their mothers' clans…A further claim made by clan heads to prove that the king was originally one of them is the title of Sabataka, chief of the Bataka… Succession to the throne was also modelled on the succession system prevalent in the clans and families.[34]

Kiwanuka also noted that before political and territorial powers shifted so much from the clan heads to the Kabaka to the extent that the Kabaka became despotic enough to disregard some of the demands of the clan

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According to one of the leading colonial historians of Bunyoro, Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Bunyoro*: 89, "Emin Pasha spoke very highly of Kabalega, but this monarch had an inveterate dislike of white men." For similar observations about European imperial, colonial, and early Christian construction and reproduction of images of black people as savages, see, for a start, J. Gustav, *Images of Savages: Ancient roots of modern prejudice in Western culture*. New York: Routledge, 1999; B. Davidson, *Africa in History*. New York: Macmillan1991: xxii-3; P.D. Curtin, *African History*. New York: Macmillan, 1964: 3–4; A.E. Afigbo, "Colonial Historiography," in T. Falola. Ed., *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*. Ikeja, Nigeria: Longman, 1993: 39–47; A. Swai and B. Tamu, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique*. London: Zed, 1981: 1–40.

[33] See M.S.M.S. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda: From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1972: 96–112; R.J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda: Economy, Society and Welfare in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: James Curry, 2002: 3; B. Rubongoya, *Regime Hegemony in Museveni's Uganda: Pax Musevenica*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007: 18–19.

[34] See Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*: 98.

heads, "it appears clear… [that] a king could have his wishes blocked by the opposition of the chiefs."[35] It was, therefore, not surprising that the legitimating roles of the village councils, lineage-based councils and the clans ensured that the state, in pre-eighteenth century Buganda, was generally despotically weak and infrastructurally strong.

Between the seventeenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, Buganda developed the most elaborate and tightly knit centralized state in the region. The state also became the strongest regional power. At the helm of the state was the *Kabaka* who acquired power through elaborate popular traditional requirements and ceremonies:

> The Baganda and their rulers subscribed to the theory that no man was considered king until he had gone through the succession ceremonies…. but once he had gone through these ceremonies he acquired regal qualities and underwent a metamorphosis. No longer was he an ordinary man; like medieval kings in Europe he was almost the victor god, holding powers superior to those other mortals…. Once royal power had been attained and expressed by ceremony and title, no longer could the king be just a war leader. Nowhere were his powers more forcefully exhibited than in his responsibility and administration of justice.[36]

It must be added that, unlike in medieval Europe where the monarchs claimed the divine and human bodies, attempts by Buganda kings to claim the divine body were unsuccessful because they were secular rulers and did not control Buganda's traditional religion. What that meant was that in Buganda, like in Bunyoro-Kitara, the king had only one body: the human body.

The Kabaka ruled the state largely through his appointed *Bakungu* (chiefs) and the *Bataka* (clan heads). As in the other centralized pre-colonial polities of what later became Uganda, the traditional concept and practice of hereditary legitimacy allowed only those who descended from a ruling line to run for the highest office in the land. This saved the state from incessant struggles for political power. Again, as in the other centralized states, the monarchical traditions and customs encouraged royal candidates to negotiate and agree on the next king. However, if the negotiations failed, traditions and customs sanctioned the use of political violence between or among legitimate royal candidates to determine a new ruler. In some instances, as D.A. Low noted, every other candidate was exterminated "so that they should not live to provide foci for opposition thereafter."[37] M. Wright added that these wars were frequent, claimed many lives, devastated the state, generated enormous instability and eroded the popular-based infrastructural powers of the state.[38]

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[35] Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*: 100. See also, Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda*: 3.

[36] See Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*: 98–99.

The traditional power of the Kabakaship was enhanced, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, through successful foreign wars, political innovations, re-invention of history, traditions and symbols by the Kabaka. According to Lord Hailey, the traditional power that the Kabaka possessed made it easier for him to carry out innovations in the traditional custom and come to terms with alien cultures.[39] Karugire added that:

> the king's power to appoint and dismiss had acquired two edges to it: in the new territories he could appoint anyone he fancied without arousing any clan's hostility since no clan had any claim in these territories. Secondly, he could dismiss a clan chief and replace him with a member of the same clan thereby neutralizing any possible resentment because, at any given time, the number of clansmen aspiring to such elevation was considerable. Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, the king of Buganda was the source of power and wealth and every functionary of the state held office at the king's pleasure.[40]

The enormous power of the king to appoint and dismiss his administrators, the cohesive nature of the administrative structures, and the ability of the king and the structures to penetrate and control the state highlighted the powers of the state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: despotically and infrastructurally strong.

The increased power of the Kabakaship was constantly wrapped in, and perpetuated by, myths and fictions surrounding the sacredness and superhumanness of the Kabaka. The origins of the myths and fictions may be traced back to the genesis of the centralized polity under the mythical

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[37] See, D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960: 4–5.

[38] M. Wright, *Buganda in the Heroic Age*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971: 2.

[39] Cited in A.I. Richards, *East African Chiefs*. London: Faber, 1960: 347.

[40] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 23. See also, M.S.M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*. London: Longman, 1971: chapters 5 & 6.; C.C. Wrigley, "The Changing Economic Structure of Buganda," in L.A. Fallers, ed., *The King's Men*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964: 16–63.

Kintu and his predecessor, Kabaka Chwa I, as the founding fathers of the state. Kintu, in particular, became associated with the identity of the state and virtually everything romantic and desirable about the state.[41] To enhance the legitimating political myths, some Kabaka executed those who stared at their wives or mentioned the sickness from which the monarchs suffered or those who stole the monarch's firewood. For example, Kasozi noted that:

> Namugala (1734–64) killed a whole group of the Abatamanyanganda and buried two hundred of them in a mass grave. Kyabagu executed hundreds of Ssese islanders, who had cured him of his illness, because they had embarrassed him by complaining publicly of not being given meat at Nakasero Hill. Sunna II (1824–54) … slaughtered three hundred Bawambya because one of their number stole his firewood. He cut off the ears of his bearer Walonzi.... He executed many of his sister's bodyguards and sixty of his brothers and half-brothers at Nasana. His orders to burn all the inhabitants of Kitende Island in Busoga were obeyed.... While in council (*Lukiko*), all chiefs were required to look on the ground while the king talked. Anyone who looked up or who looked upon the faces of the royal wives was poisoned there and then by his poisoner, Kataba.... Concentration of violence in the person of the king made life very insecure for Baganda. People were killed on the king's whim almost daily....[42]

Although Kasozi oversimplified the complex context under which such acts of political violence by the Kabaka took place, such acts of political violence by the Kabaka, however, were not erratic or irrational, as Kasozi proceeded to conclude. Rather, they served an important legitimating function: maintenance of the myths surrounding the "superhumanness" and legitimacy of the Kabakaship. In fact, such acts of political violence were not confined to Buganda. For example, it was not uncommon for hereditary and despotic monarchs in medieval feudal Europe to execute those citizens who questioned the legitimacy, superhumanness and sacredness of the monarchs or discussed the possibility of the monarchs not being alive someday.[43]

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[41] See, for example, Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*: 94–95; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda*: 3.

[42] See Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence*: 20. See also, Ocaya-Lakidi, "Manhood, Warriorhood and Sex in Eastern Africa," in A.A. Mazrui, ed., *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977: 140.

While in theory such despotic monarchs could be removed from power for violating the traditional concept of legitimacy, in practice they were hardly ever removed from power. Thus, Kasozi observed that:

> It is interesting that Baganda accepted the king's right to kill. Many proverbs and sayings demonstrate this acceptance, or, rather, resignation. Some of these sayings excused the Kabaka and put the blame on courtiers and flatterers: *Kabaka tatta, musakiriza yatta* (The king does not kill, it is the ambitious flatterer who kills). He was likened to a queen ant who has a right to feed on other ants - *Kabaka namunswa alya ku nswa ze*… he was a heavy hammer that kills not only those disturbing it, the fishermen, but also the travelers: *Kabaka nyanja, etta natavuba*. No one was safe where the Kabaka was. However, unlike the postcolonial presidents, the precolonial kings of Buganda had a "constitutional" right to kill their citizens. As the supreme judge of the land, the Kabaka was supposed to have a right to inflict the death penalty.[44]

Notwithstanding Kasozi's exaggeration that nobody was safe in the presence of the king and his failure to understand the historical context under which the Ganda proverbs and sayings emerged and the lessons they were intended to convey about political violence and legitimacy, five possible explanations may be offered to account for the difficulty to successfully depose such despotic kings or the difficulty to successfully withhold obligations from such "tyrants." First, the citizens of the state still had enough confidence in the traditional mechanisms of legitimacy to challenge and contain despotism and political violence by the Kabaka. This confidence persisted even when the Kabaka became more powerful and more despotic in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Second, the monarchs could justify such terror by claiming that it was desirable and necessary for national unity, national security, law and order. Third, whenever necessary and possible, the monarchs redefined the concept of legitimacy to justify such tyranny. Fourth, the sanction of political violence during wars of succession and during numerous campaigns for plunder and territorial conquest involving tens of thousands of Baganda conditioned the population to painfully accommodate such tyrants and tyrannies. Put differently, succession wars and wars for plunder and annexation of territories had normalized the use of political violence in the state.[45] C.E. Welch reinforced a similar view when he observed that: "the acceptability of violence within an individual society rests on social values condoning and channeling violence. An expectation that violence would occur leads to its normative justification—while the existence of collective violence breeds further collective violence."[46] Fifth, the patron-client nature of the state and its institutions, the despotic nature of the state and the infrastructural power of the state to penetrate and control the society made solidarity against the Kabaka not only difficult but also dangerously costly.[47] At the end, what these acts of political violence by the Kabaka did was to fracture the legitimacy of the state, the institutions and the political incumbents in those victim regions.

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[43] For a start, see Wright, *Systems of States*: 153–155. For a rigorous examination of the myth about the sacredness and superhumanness of kings in medieval political theology, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, especially: 1–86.

[44] Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*: 20–21.

Relations between Buganda, its Neighbors and the Outside World

When Buganda was at the height of its imperial power from the eighteenth century to the first half of nineteenth century, it conquered and annexed Bunyoro's territories of Butambala, Gomba, Ssingano and most of Kyagge. The objectives of this expansionist violence were to shore up the legitimacy of the state and the incumbents by acquiring grazing land, cattle, slaves and women, and by demonstrating the military strength of the state; and avenge Bunyoro's earlier imperial aggression. During this period, Buganda also annexed Buddu and raided Busoga for the purposes of national defense and trade. National aggrandizement and prestige also encouraged Buganda to wage wars against some of its neighbors. The wars against Ankole in the 1860s, for example, served these purposes.[48] Thus, L.A. Fallers concluded that, by and large, these acts of violence against the neighboring states achieved the objectives of national prestige and national aggrandizement. They also enhanced the legitimacy of the state, its institutions, political culture and the incumbents:

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[45] L.A. Faller, "Despotism, Status and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom," cited in Ocaya-Lakidi, "Manhood, Warriorhood and Sex in East Africa": 140, noted that the Kabaka dispatched at least a hundred thousand Baganda to raid and plunder neighboring states. Faller, Ibid: 141, further noted that "a general rebellion or revolution by the populace at large against the King was out of question. The Baganda did, of course, overthrow their kings often in a violent exercise. But they did so under the banner of an aspiring prince."

[46] C.E. Welch, "Warrior, Rebel, Guerrilla, and Putschist," in Mazrui, ed., *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*: 84. See also, Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*: 170, 177.

[47] Faller, "Despotism, Status and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom," cited in Ocaya-Lakidi, "Manhood, Warriorhood and Sex in East Africa":140, 141.

> In fact, there was a definite 'pay off' for the nation as a whole: the ever more frequent wars against neighboring peoples, in which more than one hundred thousand men might take part, were essentially raids for plunder, in which everyone who took part received a share. In addition, the nation as a whole received the psychic satisfaction which came from national aggrandizement at the expense of their neighbours. In the context of this ideological and economic commitment to aggressive expansion, the despotic behaviour of the Kabaka added to his legitimacy rather than the reverse.[49]

By the 1840s, the powers and legitimacy of the state were heavily influenced by the caravan trade between Buganda and the East African coast. This trade, which developed during the reign of Kabaka Semakokiro, ran through Bagamoyo, on the east coast near Zanzibar, to Ujiji, Tabora, Karagwe and finally to Kibuga in Buganda. The Arabs, Wa-Swahili and Wa-Nyamwezi brought copper wires, blue cotton cloth, cowry shells and guns to Buganda. In return, they acquired ivory and slaves from Buganda. In 1844 (A.H. 1260), an Omani-Arab trader, Ahmed bin Ibrahim, arrived at Kabaka Suna's court on a trade mission. During his visit, Ibrahim persuaded the Kabaka to allow the spread of Islam in Buganda. Kabaka Suna accepted the proposition for three related reasons. First, he knew that traditional religion was the foundation upon which the legitimacy and powers of both the state and the Kabakaship were constructed. To enhance his power and legitimacy as he desired, he needed to control and manipulate the religion. Unfortunately, for him, he could not manipulate the traditional religion as he desired because he did not have much control over it. Since he did not control traditional religion, he agreed to adopt

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[48] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 38, 40, 42; H.M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent or the Sources of the Nile around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean*. Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1878: 157–165.

[49] Fallers, "Despotism, Status Culture and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, cited in Ocaya-Lakidi, "Manhood, Warriorhood and Sex in East Africa,": 141. See also, Semakula, A *History of Buganda*: 108; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda*: 3.

Islam, which he hoped to control and manipulate to enhance his power and legitimacy. In this instance, Suna accepted the proposition because Islam offered the opportunity which the traditional religion denied him. Secondly, he expected Islam, the religion of trade and commerce, to create a climate conducive for a rapid development of the caravan trade between Buganda's court and the East African coast. Such a development, he hoped, would meet and enhance the patron-client economic criterion of legitimacy. Thirdly, he expected the development of trade to guarantee the supplies of two trade items he required to enhance his power and legitimacy and protect the sovereignty of Buganda: guns and ammunition. With a steady and adequate supply of guns and ammunition, he could also capture more slaves and acquire more ivory, which could be exchanged for more ammunition and guns. Reliable supplies of guns and ammunition could also guarantee successful territorial conquest.[50]

Kabaka Suna's successor, Kabaka Mutesa I, even went further than his father and initiated a number of reforms to promote Islam: he ordered the construction of mosques in all the counties in Buganda, introduced the Moslem calendar in Buganda, observed Ramadan between 1867 and 1876, decreed that his subjects should greet him in appropriate Arabic words and Islamic manner, and appointed several Wa-Swahili to chieftainships. The appointment of foreigners to positions of administration, for example, provided the Kabaka with more space for political innovations and to enhance both his power and that of the state.[51]

The introduction of Islam and the influence of the Arabs at the court, however, had unintended consequences: they generated a severe crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions and the incumbents. To begin with, by promoting Islamic teachings and codes of conduct, Mutesa promoted factors that eroded and challenged the traditional Kiganda customs and religion which had, for centuries, defined and provided political legitimacy and stability to the state, its institutions and the incumbents. Traditional religion and customs had also provided the citizens with identity, purpose, unity and an invented common history. The profound and destabilizing effects of the religio-political innovation forced the traditionalists, as opposed to the new converts, to respond to the revolution that introduced alternative social and political myths by withholding their obligations from the Kabaka. They did so because the king had violated his obligations and abused his office. Equally important, by promoting Islam, the Kabaka had not only disowned the traditional religion which had defined key criteria of political legitimacy and customs but had also lost the limited influence he had over the traditional religion. The result was that the Kabaka, the new faith and the institutions of the state that had embraced the new innovations and Kabaka's political administrators who belonged to the new religion suffered profound legitimation deficits. The situation was exacerbated when the new social class, the new converts, whom the Kabaka expected to be loyal to him, publicly denounced him, Buganda institutions and Kiganda religion and customs as morally unacceptable and lacking legitimacy. In this instance, the converts based their concepts of morality and legitimacy on Islamic teachings and values. The denunciation by the converts suggested that the Kabaka had failed to control and manipulate the new religion. Worse still, he was left without a religion that could procure and sustain legitimacy.[52]

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[50] R.A. Austen, "Patterns of Development in Nineteenth-century East Africa," *African Historical Studies*, IV, 3 (1971): 656; J.M. Gray, "Ahmed bin Ibrahim – the First Arab to reach Buganda, "Uganda *Journal,* n.d.: 80–87, 96–97; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*: 5–6; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda:* 60. Attempts by monarchs to control and manipulate religions to enhance their legitimacy were a common practice in world history. For example, some of the major wars between the Roman Empire and the Papacy were fought over such issues. Similarly, in 1534, King Henry VIII of England attempted to control and manipulate religion to enhance his power and legitimacy by assuming the title of Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England. See, for example, C.W. New and C.E. Phillips, *A World History*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1960: 321–6; F.H. Hartmann, *Relations of Nations*: Third Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967: 103.

[51] Gray, "Ahmed bin Ibrahim – the First Arab to reach Buganda": 80–87, 96–97; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*: 5–6.

By 1875, this severe crisis of legitimacy had divided the Baganda into two warring camps: the traditionalists and the Moslems. Each camp referred to members of the other camp as "outsiders." Such a categorization of membership provided justifications for the systematic exclusion, repression and persecution of the "outsiders." To either camps, the Kabaka had also become an outsider. What this meant was that the Kabaka had lost his legitimacy to govern and had become a candidate for a coup. It also meant that the state, which had become severely fragmented between the two warring factions, became despotically weak. Having lost the popular consent that had provided it with infrastructural powers to control and penetrate the society, the infrastructural powers of the state also became quite weak.[53]

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[52] Gray, "Ahmed bin Ibrahim – the First Arab to reach Buganda": 88–90.
[53] Ibid.

This period of unparalleled social and political upheavals in the history of Buganda coincided with another threat to the shrinking legitimacy of the Kabaka and the state: the encroaching Turco-Egyptian imperialism from the north. When the imperialists arrived at Mutesa's capital, they announced their presence by unleashing terror and declaring Buganda a sphere of Egyptian influence. The situation was made worse for Mutesa by the fact that the invaders, like the Arab traders from the East African coast and the new converts that were in violent conflict with him, belonged to Islam. From Mutesa's crisis-ridden perspective, these groups could unite and topple him from power and subsequently destroy the independence of Buganda.[54]

In this state of extreme political anxiety and fear, Mutesa attempted to address the profound threat to his legitimacy and that of the fragmented state by ordering the elimination of the converts:

> Orders went out that all the converts were to be put to death. There was a general round up and a large number were actually burnt alive. Some two or three hundred more managed to escape and join Arab caravans, and thus to make their way out of the country to Zanzibar. A few more were able to conceal their conversion and pass themselves as pagans [*sic*], and others hid until the war of persecution spent itself. But for the time being Islam had received a very severe set-back in Buganda.[55]

A number of points should be highlighted. First, for the first time in the political history of Buganda, the end or purposes of the state and the regime were violently contested. This violent contest was the logical outcome of the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institution and the incumbents. This crisis, in turn, prompted more state coercion and predation. In this instance, political violence by the state was intended to address the profound crisis of legitimacy, and restore law and order. Secondly, the regime failed to perform adequately the function of political socialization which could have provided coherence, legitimacy and stability. Thirdly, the existence of two conflicting myths, one based on traditional religion and customs, the other on Islamic teachings and values, generated violent competition and instability. Fourthly, the emergence of a new social class, the Muslims, upset the socio-political equilibrium in Buganda. The foregoing suggests the existence of three closely related typologies of state powers within this limited period: despotically strong but infrastructurally weak (on the eve of conversion to Islam), despotically weak and infrastructurally weak (following the conversion to Islam and war for legitimacy) and despotically strong but infrastructurally weak (following the religious *cum* political persecution). The weak infrastructural powers of the state in the third typology, however, reflected the inability of the destabilized and fractured state to penetrate and control the society based on popular consent.

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[54] Ibid., suggested that the possibility of an alliance between the co-religionists was quite remote because the Arabs from the East African coast did not want to lose the near trade monopoly they enjoyed between the coast and Buganda. As a matter of fact, they were in support of Mutesa against the agents of the Egyptian government. What Gray failed to note was that the crises Kabaka Mutesa faced suggested to him that the possibility of an alliance was as real as the threat it posed.

[55] Gray, Ibid: 87. The present study does not endorse the Eurocentric description of African traditionalists as "pagans." For a similar view, see O. p'Bitek, *African Religions in Western Scholarship*. Kampala: Uganda Literature Bureau, 1980: 1–33.

During this turbulent period, H.M. Stanley reached Mutesa's court in April 1875. Stanley, whose accounts about his own national identity and exploits in Africa were largely fabricated and who later supervised King Leopold *cum* Belgium genocide in the Congo, had been sponsored by the *New York Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph* of London and the Anglo-American expedition to complete the explorations which the dying David Livingstone had left uncompleted.[56] Upon his arrival, Stanley began to undermine Islam and Kiganda traditional religion by presenting Christianity as the only authentic and progressive religion. As soon as Mutesa began to show some curious interests in Stanley's propaganda, Stanley sent his famous letter of April 14, 1875, to the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald*. From his account, he sent the letter nearly two months before Mutesa had asked for the Christian missionaries to come to Buganda. In the letter, Stanley claimed that Mutesa promised every missionary "anything he desired—houses, lands, cattle, ivory, & etc.; he might call a province his own in one day."[57] He also claimed that

> Mtesa [*sic*] renounced Islamism, and professed himself a convert to the Christian Faith, and now he announced his determination to adhere to his new religion, to build a church, and to do all in his power to promote the propagation of Christian sentiments among his people, and to conform to the best of his ability to the holy precepts contained in the Bible.....'Stamlee,'

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[56] See T. Marvel, *The New Congo*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948: 14.

[57] See Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*: 120–121. See also, Stanley, Ibid: 110–169.

> said Mtesa to me, as we parted, nearly two months after the massacre of the peace party, say to the white people, when you write to them, that I am like a man sitting in darkness, or born blind, and that all I ask is that I may be taught to see, and I shall continue a Christian while I live.[58]

According to Stanley's account, the invitation was extended immediately after he had actively assisted Mutesa in raids for slaves and other commodities. He also suggested that his guns had impressed the monarch during the raids. From Stanley's account—which invalidates the popular myths in the historiography of Uganda that the letter to invite the Christian missionaries to Buganda was sent at the request of Mutesa—it is reasonable to infer that Mutesa "invited" the missionaries because he expected them to help him raid neighboring states for slaves and other commodities; provide him with guns; and introduce a religion that would protect him and his state against the growing threats of the Moslems. Simply put, Mutesa expected the missionaries to salvage the faltering legitimacy of the state and his regime.[59]

In 1877, the first group of Christian missionaries, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) or the *Wa-Ingeleza* (the English) arrived in Buganda. This group was led by Lieutenant Shergold and Rev. C.T. Wilson. Two years later, the Catholic White Fathers or the *Wa-Fransa* (the French) arrived. This group was led by Fathers Laurdel, Barbot and Girault, and Brother Amans. Like Islam, the Christian denominations launched the new order from Buganda's Court. Three factors accounted for this strategy. First, they felt obligated to launch their mission from the seat of power in Buganda because they assumed that it was the Kabaka who had invited them. Secondly, the court was still an important symbol of power, identity and legitimacy in Buganda. As such, the missionaries hoped that by launching Christianity from the court the denominations would receive a stamp of unquestionable legitimacy in Buganda. Thirdly, as the Kabaka became more despotic, power and orders flowed vertically from the monarch to the subjects. This suggested to the denominations that launching Christianity from the court would make it spread rapidly and successfully in Buganda.[60]

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[58] Ibid.: 168–169. For more information about the military campaigns that were carried out against the "Wasoga" and "Wavuma", see, Ibid: 157–166; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule:* 6; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 63.

[59] See Stanley, *Through a Dark Continent:* 157–169; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 61; D.A. Low, *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875–1900.* Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research (East African Studies, no. 8), n.d., especially: 1–2. Stanley's involvement in slave raids did not make him a less credible Christian because Christian churches had engaged in and condoned slavery for centuries. See, for example, B. Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies.* Vol. I. London: Stockdale, 1801: 38–9; R. Sawyer, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century.* London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986: 3–7. In southern Africa, for example, Christian missionaries had not only approved of the institution of slavery, but had also been actively involved in slave raids, slavery and slave trade. See, for example, J. Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong Mbolompo," *Journal of African History*, 29 (1988): 487–519; J.D. Omer-Cooper, "Debate: Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19, 2 (1993): 273–94.

In October 1884, Kabaka Mutesa died. By the time of his death, the two Christian denominations and Islam were at war with one another. This unholy war had some of the trappings of the Jihads, the Christian Crusades and other religio-political wars that had devastated distant territories, including Europe. The unsuspecting local believers who engaged in the war were told by the agents of imperialism, disguised as agents of non-imperial religions, that war against non-believers or infidels or "pagans" had a transcendent validation and was morally justifiable. According to this invented ideological world-view which the western world presents today as "radical Islam" or terrorism, the death of a believer in such a war was the quickest and surest path to heaven. To die or lose in a "holy war" was, therefore, perceived as a moral victory.[61] The political war, disguised as religious war in Buganda, also allowed the converts to violently challenge the Kabaka, Kiganda traditional religion and customs. The situation was compounded by the news of the European scramble for and the partition of Africa. Specifically, news about Dr. Karl Peters' efforts to secure East Africa, Buganda included, for Germany elevated the level of political anxiety in Buganda.[62]

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[60] Karugire, *A Political History:* 69; Low, *Religion and Society in Buganda*.

[61] For a similar view on holy wars and legitimacy, see J.H. Yoder, *When War is Unjust*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1984: 24–7; Wright, *Systems of States*: 155–158; M.L. Bush, *Renaissance, Reformation and the Outer World*. London: The Copp Clark, 1967: 219–271. Hartman, *The Relations of Nations*: 103, described the Thirty Years' war as one of the most savage and prolonged blood-shedding that Europe experienced.

[62] See Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 4–5; W.E. Ward, *The Emergent Africa*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967: 60–65; Karugire, *A Political History*: 65. F.R. Von der Mehden, *Comparative Political Violence*. N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973: 74, made an observation that is relevant to the unfolding drama in Buganda: "Some writers argue that the legitimacy of a regime is a sufficient condition for the minimization of violence.... If respect for and

Against this background of intense political instability, anxiety and fragmentation of the state, Mwanga assumed power. He was 18 years old at the time of his enthronement. His rule was greeted by a series of misfortunes. First, Mengo, the symbol of the sovereign state, political legitimacy and Buganda's identity, was gutted twice by mysterious fires. Secondly, Mwanga lost his trading vessels and merchandise at the East African coast. Thirdly, Mwanga's army that had been sent to invade Bunyoro-Kitara and deflect some of the growing domestic crises was decisively defeated by Kabalega. These misfortunes, as they were perceived by Mwanga and his subjects, symbolized the slow death of the state and further heightened the level of political anxiety and uncertainty in Buganda.[63]

It was during this turbulent moment in 1885 that Mwanga received the news that the first Anglican Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, James Hannington, was planning to reach Buganda through Busoga. Buganda traditions and laws, however, prohibited a friendly foreigner from reaching Buganda through Busoga. According to the traditions and laws, a foreigner who followed the route could be executed because such a person was perceived as a destroyer of Buganda. To avoid any unnecessary conflict between his state and the missionaries, Mwanga summoned two prominent leaders of the CMS, Ashe and Mackay, and asked them to warn the Bishop against taking the route. However, Bishop Hannington disregarded the warning and decided to follow the forbidden route. Accordingly, in October 1885, Hannington and his entourage were executed as they attempted to step on Buganda's soil. Recounting the story of Bishop Hannington's tragic adventure, one of the leading agents of British imperialism in the region, F.D. Lugard, lamented that dastardly "as this murder was, it must be admitted that Mwanga looked on Hannington's arrival as the precursor of war; and it was most unfortunate that the bishop should have adopted the route via Usoga."[64]

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loyalty to several… social institutions are weakened, then the probability of political violence will be greatly increased."

[63] See J.M. Gray, "The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda, Mwanga – Kiwewa – Kalema, 1888–1889," *Uganda Journal*, 14, 1 (March 1950): 15–51; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda, 1900–1986:* 101–102; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule:* 7–9; J.A. Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala* . Kampala: Longmans, 1969: 19; M.S.M. Kiwanuka, "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties," *Uganda Journal*, 33, 1 (1969): 1–3.

[64] F.D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*. Vol. II. London: Frank Cass, 1968: 7. See also, Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda: From the*

Although the Christian converts and missionaries were aware of Kiganda traditions and the punishment associated with violating them, they turned against Mwanga and publicly challenged the morality and legitimacy of his action.[65] This public challenge threatened Mwanga's authority and exacerbated the instability and lawlessness in Buganda. In 1886, the beleaguered Kabaka attempted to reclaim his waning legitimacy by ordering that the rebellious Christian converts denounce their faiths or face execution. The converts chose the latter on the grounds that the Christian God had freed them from obeying the "king of darkness." In the face of their transcendent duty, they insisted, it was unacceptable for the children of light and righteousness to compromise or surrender to the forces of darkness. Mwanga responded to the challenge to his authority by doing exactly what his father, Mutesa, had done to the Moslems in a similar crisis situation: he ordered the executions of the rebellious converts. The result was that some 50 Christian converts were executed at Namugongo.[66]

Mwanga expected this act of political violence to induce compliance and loyalty among his rebellious subjects. He was wrong. Christianity had assigned immortality to martyrdom. The result was that many more converts, including some chiefs and palace pages, decided to travel the quickest and surest path to martyrdom and heaven by publicly challenging the legitimacy of the Kabaka. As during the era of the Christian crusades, the converts did not only march to be killed in the name of the sovereign God, they also began to plan to depose the king. The overthrow of the king, it was maintained, would allow the will of the King of kings to be done on earth, as was required. As during the reign of Mutesa, the converts were now bent on seizing both political and religious leadership in Buganda.[67]

As the war for legitimacy escalated, Mwanga realized that his most determined political challengers were the youths who had converted to Christianity. Since political violence against them had not worked, he decided to procure legitimation from this group by co-opting some of their members to positions of leadership in the state. The only political offices that appealed to them, however, were those occupied by some of

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Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900. New York: Africana Publishing, 1972: 196.

[65] See Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda: From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*: 196; Karugire, *A Political History:* 66.

[66] Karugire, *A Political History:* 66; M. de K. Hemphill, "The British Sphere, 1884–94," in R. Oliver and G. Mathew, eds. *History of East Africa*. Vol. I. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963: 399–403.

[67] See, for example, Karugire, *A Political History:* 66.

the old chiefs, including those who had been Mutesa's most trusted and loyal advisors. This left Mwanga with no choice but to dismiss most of the old chiefs and replace them with the converts in 1886 and 1887.[68]

Attempts to compensate for legitimation deficit through conscious manipulation and co-option, however, had unintended consequences for Mwanga. First, they turned the ex-chiefs and their supporters against him. Since the ex-chiefs were the custodians of Kiganda traditions and customs, and had greatly facilitated the infrastructural penetration of the society by the state, their opposition to Mwanga meant that he had now lost most of the support he needed from Buganda. It also meant further erosion of the infrastructural powers of the state. Secondly, the efforts did not earn him legitimacy from the new chiefs and other Christian converts because they wanted the throne and other institutions of the state to be in the hands of Christians. In fact, the new chiefs seized the opportunity to plot a coup from within the citadel of power in Buganda. The presence and location of the plot at the citadel of Buganda's power generated enormous instability in Buganda.[69]

When it became clear that the non-violent strategy was not achieving its objective, Mwanga decided to employ unrestrained political violence to address the severe crisis of legitimacy, restore law and order, and induce compliance and cooperation. For example, in 1887, Mwanga, accompanied by his army, raided and plundered Kyaggwe, Gayaza, Kasawo and Kijabijjo. During this bloody pacification campaign, Mwanga's army captured thousands of cattle, razed many villages to the ground and violently uprooted many people from the "disturbed" area. Among those who were terrorized and violently uprooted were the Christian missionaries. However, this reign of terror had the opposite effect: it forced many more Baganda to withdraw their loyalty and cooperation from the Kabaka who had now become a major source of unsanctioned political violence and insecurity. The results were that political violence by the state increased the crisis of legitimacy of the incumbents, further deprived the state of its infrastructural power and threatened the survival of the state.[70]

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[68] See Kiwanuka, "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties":1–16; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 102–104; Hemphill, "The British Sphere, 1884–94": 403; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 5.

[69] Kiwanuka, "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties":1–16; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 102–104; Hemphill, "The British Sphere, 1884–94,": 403. The idea that a non-Christian king had either to convert to Christianity or be overthrown had been popularized in Europe. See Wright, *Systems of States*: 156–159.

The situation was not made any better by the persistent news of a conspiracy by the converts, including the new chiefs and the old chiefs, to overthrow Mwanga. To forestall the plot, Mwanga and *Katikiro* (Prime minister) Mukasa designed a plan to exterminate the conspirators. The three institutionalized religions, supported by both the old and the new chiefs, responded by uniting against their common enemy: Mwanga. This alliance made it possible for the three political *cum* religious groups to topple him from power on September 10, 1888. This coup d'état marked an important watershed in the political history of Buganda. From that moment until the reign of Mutesa II, transition of power in Buganda would be determined by coup d'état, not by the traditional and legitimate procedures of succession. The coup d'état also meant that for the first time in Buganda's political history only members of the new religions would decide who would rule the state. Since these religions were led by foreigners, the decision about who would rule, when and how, rested primarily in the hands of foreigners. This meant that Buganda's political independence came to an end during the coup of September 10, 1888. Additionally, by sanctioning a military coup as a legitimate procedure of securing political power, the three religio-political parties widened the sanction of political violence in Buganda's political "culture" and political system.[71]

After the overthrow of Kabaka Mwanga, the Moslems ensured that the eldest son of Mwanga, Kiwewa, assumed power. However, the only way that Kiwewa, a traditionalist by faith, could be regarded as a legitimate ruler by the Moslems was by converting him to Islam. Accordingly, the Moslems demanded that he should embrace Islam, first, by becoming circumcised. However, he refused to do so. By defying his political "masters", Kiwewa signed his death warrant: he was overthrown and executed by the Moslems. The execution was intended to prevent the deposed king from providing foci for opposition that would threaten the legitimacy of the new political procedure and political order. Thereafter, his brother Kalema was appointed to the vacant seat. With this latest coup, Buganda witnessed the rule of three powerless kings in one year.[72]

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[70] Kiwanuka, "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties":1–16.

[71] Karugire, *A political History: 68–9*; Wright, *Buganda in the Heroic Age*: 11, 14–19, 21–24.

[72] See R.P. Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*. London: Frank Cass, 1971; Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala:* 19; Kiwanuka, "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties," *Uganda Journal*, 33,

The absence of a common enemy provided political space for competition and rivalries among the three religious parties to control the state. The competition and rivalries not only escalated the level of political violence and instability in Buganda it also led to the collapse of the unholy alliance among the three parties in October 1888. Following the collapse of the alliance, a war for legitimacy and control of the state broke out between the Christians and the Moslems. In the war, the Moslems defeated and ejected the Christians from Buganda. The latter became refugees in Ankole in December 1888. While in Ankole, the Christian refugees turned themselves into refugee warriors and appealed to Mwanga, who was now a refugee at a Catholic mission in Tangayika, to lead them in a war against the Moslems.[73] The refugee warriors needed Mwanga to lead them in the war because his presence would provide legitimacy to their cause in Buganda. Mwanga's presence would also divide Buganda and the ruling house into two warring camps: pro-Kalema *cum* pro-Moslems, and pro-Mwanga *cum* pro-Christians, and make it easier for the refugee warriors to topple the Moslems. In October 1889, the refugee warriors managed, in a very bloody war, to seize power from the Moslems. On October 12, 1889, Mwanga, who had "converted" to Roman Catholicism while in exile, was offered the throne.

The Moslems, on the other hand, found refuge in Bunyoro, where they reorganized and carried out a series of guerrilla wars against the Christians. In November 1899, the refugee warriors toppled the Christians. It was now the turn of the Christians to flee, regroup and wage another war against the Moslems. In February 1890, their "prayers" were answered: they toppled the Moslems. Thereafter, they offered the beleaguered throne to Mwanga. Once more, the Moslems fled to Bunyoro, where they regrouped and carried out a series of unsuccessful attacks against the Christian regime in Buganda. To discourage the refugee warriors from destabilizing Buganda, the triumphant Christian war parties decided

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1, (1969): 1–3; Gray, "The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda, Mwanga – Kiwewa – Kalema, 1888–1889": 15–51; Karugire, *A Political History* : 65, 70–71; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*: 7–9; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 101–102.

[73] For an excellent work on refugee warriors, see H. Adelman, "Why Refugee Warriors are Threats." Paper presented at the International Studies Association Convention, Toronto, March 19, 1997. See also, A. Zolberg, A. Shurke and S. Aguayo, *Escape from Violence: Conflict and Refugee Crisis in the Developing in the Developing World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

to co-opt them by offering them a handful of marginal political offices. Important political offices in Buganda were subsequently divided between the victorious Christian parties.[74]

A number of points should be highlighted. First, for the first time in Buganda's political history, the traditionalists, who lost out in the ensuing war for legitimacy and relevance, were politically declared a minority in the state. This political declaration was made without any demographic census. Secondly, for the first time in Buganda, the state was captured by the two Christian denominations, with systematic exclusion of the "minorities": the traditionalists and the Moslems. This meant that both the regime and the despotic state lacked legitimacy in the minds of the alienated segments of the society. Thirdly, both the regime and the state relied increasingly on political violence, intimidation and coercion to silence perceived regime challengers. Fourthly, while the state remained despotically strong, it became infrastructurally weak. The state became infrastructurally weak because it lacked coercive powers and the popular support of the citizens. Fifthly, by the time the Christian parties seized control of the state and its institutions, Buganda had ceased to expand territorially. Indeed, Buganda's territorial expansion effectively came to a close immediately following the decisive defeat of Mwanga's army by Kabalega's *abarasura*. This took place not long after the death of Mutesa in October 1884.

Decentralized States

There were many decentralized states in what later became known as Uganda. They included Acoli, Lango, Madi, Alur, Karamoja, Teso, Bukonjo and Bugishu. Although it is impossible to make generalizations which apply without qualifications because these states were by no means uniform in size or degree of decentralization and democratic practice, they had some common characteristics: traditional concepts and practice of legitimacy were based on consensus and popular democracy; government apparatus was not captured or held by a family or a ruling house; executive and judicial powers were decentralized; the regime did not rely on violence, coercion and intimidation to maintain itself in power; the incumbents did not use state capabilities and resources for personal enrichment; and customs and traditional religions did not sanction the use of political violence in domestic politics. In some of these states, the low level of democratic practice and weak democratic political culture made them unable to significantly penetrate and control the states. This meant that such states were both despotically and infrastructurally weak. Acoliland, however, was despotically weak and infrastructurally strong. The infrastructural strength of the state resulted from the long history and practice of popular democracy, and the fact that the democratic society and state were very closely wedded. The democratic and horizontal relations between the state and the society also meant that the latter carried out those binding decisions that the former made. The nature of decision making, therefore, made it easy for the state to implement those decisions. The ability of the state to implement decisions that were agreed upon by the society accorded it strong infrastructure to penetrate and control the society.[75]

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[74] See Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala:* 19; Kiwanuka, "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties," *Uganda Journal,* 33, 1, (1969): 1–3; Gray, "The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda, Mwanga – Kiwewa – Kalema, 1888–1889": 15–51; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*: 7–9.

ACOLI, 1500–1889

Acoliland comprised many decentralized states. The states varied in size, the level of decentralization, demographic composition and demographic size, ethnic and linguistic composition, and myths and histories of origin.[76] For example, those states which had close and frequent interactions with Bunyoro-Kitara in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gradually developed more centralized polities and mobilized larger population than those states that had little direct and/or frequent relations with Bunyoro-Kitara. What was common in all the states was that a state comprised many clans, headed by a *Rwot* (leader). Rwot was directly and regularly elected by *Rwodi Kal* (clan leaders), *Ludito paci* (village heads) and *Ludito dogola* (heads of hamlets). *Ludito paci* were elected by *Ludito dogola* (heads of families), who were in turn elected by *Wegi gangi* (heads of households). Every *gang* (household) had an equal say in matters that affected the welfare of the state. In fact, as part of their obligations, *wegi gangi* (heads of households) actively engaged in the formulation and implementation of state policies, securing the sovereignty of the state and in national debates. Such debates, which reflected a deeply rooted and recognized political culture of participatory democracy, took place in *Kal* (an open parliament). The final position, which was binding on every citizen, was arrived at through negotiations, consensus and popular votes.[77] Thus, Karugire, noted that the expansion of Acoli states:

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[75] See J. Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978: 1–109; A. Tarantino, "The Origin of the Lango," *Uganda Journal*, 10, 1 (March 1946): 12–16; P.K. Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*. London: H.M.S.O., 1960; M.M. Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda*. New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1957; L.A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970: 1–154.

[76] See p'Bitek, *African Religions in Western Scholarship*: 13. Acoli states extended from the present day Acoliland in northern Uganda to Acoliland in southern Sudan. For an excellent work on Acoli states, see T. Allen, "Acholi Decision Making," (deposited at the Commonwealth Institute, Oxford University, 1984), especially: 42–56.

> did not lead to the abandonment of the fundamental philosophy upon which the Luo political organization rested: the belief and practice that important decisions affecting the community could only be arrived at, not by a single person, but by the consensus of the elders representing the different clans constituting the particular community.... It is from this fundamental belief and practice that one has to look for an explanation as to why these societies did not develop bureaucratic state systems rather than the lack of "civilization" and "barbarism" as some of their latter day detractors were to say during and after the colonial period because in many ways these societies were often more humanely governed than their more "sophisticated" neighbours in the southern parts of the country.[78]

Traditional concepts and practice of legitimacy permitted any adult male member of the state, including non-Acoli, to contest for leadership. Generally, candidates with the following leadership qualities stood a good chance of being elected: demonstrated record of fairness and justice; demonstrated understanding of and respect for Acoli traditions, religion, laws and customs; loyalty to Acoliland; proven honesty and kindness even to one's enemies; proven ability to act in union with the rest of the society;

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[77] Y. Ludolo, evangelist from Kitgum, 73 years, interview by author, Oxford, December 12, 1994; Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 7–9, 104; Allen, "Acholi Decision Making": 1–51; J.M. Gray, "Acholi History," *Uganda Journal*, 15, 2 (1951): 1; R.M. Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History," *Uganda Journal*, supplement to vol. 10, 2 (1946): 5; "Awich – A Biographical Note and a Chapter of Acholi History," *Uganda Journal*, 10, 1 (1946): 76–77; Richards, *East African Chiefs*. 347; Karugire, noted in *A Political History of Uganda*: 11. For a work that offers a different perspective, see R.R. Atkinson, *The Roots of Ethnicity: The Origins of the Acholi of Uganda before 1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, especially: 84–87.

[78] See Karugire, noted in *A Political History of Uganda*: 11.

courage and foresightedness; accessibility; and demonstrated skills in conflict resolution.[79]

The following Acoli proverbs provide a good understanding of the traditional concepts and practice of legitimacy, the political culture of the society and the place of political violence in Acoliland.[80] *Agoro pe camo kato kulu: Agoro*, the most destructive termites in Acoliland do not eat across the other side of a river or a stream. This suggests that political power is only legitimate if it is consented to and exercised within a clearly defined and well-recognized political jurisdiction. It also means that conquest of another territory or intervention into internal affairs of another state is illegitimate. The political image of *agoro* termites is a stern warning against the temptation of using political power to destroy the society.

Arwot ki ioda: I am a leader or chief in my house. This means that the source of political legitimacy and political power in the state is the household, which must be respected by the leader of the state. Simply put, a national leader cannot claim legitimacy unless almost every household has consented to his authority. It also means that every household has an equal say, rights and obligations in the society. Relations between *won ot* (leader of a household) and *rwot kal* or *rwot* (a leader) are, therefore, determined through negotiation, consensus and popular democratic contracts.[81]

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[79] Interviews Ludolo, evangelist, 73 years, interview by author, Oxford, December 12, 1994; Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 7–9, 104.

[80] Although these proverbs are translated literally, their true meanings are derived from the socio-economic and political context.

[81] According to Atkinson, *The Roots of Ethnicity*: 84–87, *rwot* had a limited authority because of the following: the small size of the chiefdoms; the fact that *rwot* had to share political powers with constituent village-heads; the fact that those who disagreed with *rwot* could migrate to another chiefdom; and the restricted coercive power of *rwot* that resulted from the absence of firearms before 1850, and *rwot's* lack of access to any special fighting force. Atkinson's explanations are unconvincing on at least three counts: first, well before 1850, there was a large number of arms in Acoli. The presence of arms reflected the fact that the area had become an important trading post and corridor between Gondokoro and Bunyoro-Kitara. This trading post and corridor attracted a large number of slave, ivory and cattle raiders from Abyssinia, Egypt, Europe, Syria and Turkey. Secondly, it was the democratic political culture, not the small size of the polity, that restricted the authority of *rwot*. Thirdly, the democratic political culture, the politics of consensus-building and negotiation, and the intimate and horizontal relations between the state and society mitigated against the type of out-migration Atkinson alleges. Even if this type of out-migration occurred, it not an evidence that can be associated with only one form of polity. Indeed, migrations have occurred in every type of polity. See, for example, Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History": 6, Allen, "Acholi Decision Making": 45; R.O. Collins, ed., *East African History*. New York: Markus

Rwot loya ki ngo?: What does a political leader possess that I don't have? The response is: *Rwot loya ki bul*: he is the custodian of the national drum. This means that the only difference between a political leader and other members of Acoliland is that the former takes care of the national drum. This totem is a very important and visible symbol of kinship, of belongingness, of togetherness, of democratic social contract and of common identity and invented history. Given the democratic nature of the society, the drum could be relocated at any time if the elected leader acted in a manner which exceeded his delegated authorities, or if he was voted out of office. This means that the leader, like every other citizen, had to obey and recognize the same traditions, custom and laws, political culture and procedures. What the proverb also indicates is that the claim made by some political commentators and scholars that pre-colonial decentralized states in Acoliland had hereditary rulers is a recent and distorted invention not supported by historical evidence.[82]

Finally, *mon rwotgi pe* : women have no chiefs. This means that a male political leader should never boast to his wife or wives or to other women in Acoliland because women wielded more power and influence than any political leader. The power and influence that women wielded reflected the fact that, as members of the decentralized democratic polity, they had equal say in both "public" and "private" matters; they had horizontal and complementary status to men; and they were mothers, daughters, aunts, sisters and wives.[83] The proverb also means that a male political leader, like every member of Acoliland, is required to treat women with respect and dignity, otherwise he is in violation of Acoli rules, traditions and customs.[84]

According to Karugire, it was the political culture of the democratic polities and institutions, not the size of the polities, that set Acoli and other decentralized democratic pre-colonial states apart from the centralized pre-colonial societies in what later became known as Uganda:

Wiener Publishing, 1990: 104–109; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 11; Uzoigwe, *Tarikh*, 2, 2 1970, cited in Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 30–31.

[82] R. Atkinson, *The Roots of Ethnicity: The Origins of Acholi of Uganda Before 1800.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994: 78, makes such a claim.

[83] Allen, "Acoli Decision Making": 1–51; L.C. Usher-Wilson, "Acoli Hunt," *Uganda Journal*, (1946): 30–37; C.A. Wright, "Some Notes on Acholi Religious Ceremonies," *Uganda Journal*, III, 2 (October 1935): 175–177.

[84] The best sources of political, cultural and socio-economic history of the Acoli are *nanga*, *bwola*, *otole*, *apite*, *orak*, and *dingidingi* songs. See also, O. p'Bitek, *Acholi Proverbs.* Nairobi: Heinemann, 1985: 1, 2, 4, 10.

> Although it was recognised in principle that the king had the right to modify or veto the decisions of these bodies (military council and council of state), tradition has it that this right was hardly ever exercised. Thus organic growth of states preceded as new compromises and expedients were devised to minimize conflict and promote harmony in society. But all these developments took place within the same political framework of the elders sharing in the process of decision making… It is in this fundamental respect that the northern chiefdoms or kingdoms retained their traditional concept of political authority even when many more people came under a single umbrella of a kingdom which expanded beyond the original ideal of a single clan.[85]

The foregoing suggests that Acoli states had many of the important characteristics of a despotically weak but infrastructurally strong state: the ends and purposes of government were settled or founded on ideological consensus, democratic participatory political culture and democratic practice; leadership changed through regularized and democratic procedure; no one family or group of individuals could hold political office permanently; no group faced systematic persecution or systemic denial of civil liberties; the mores of governance precluded personal enrichment through political activity; the roots of the state lay deeply within the society; the well-developed and recognized democratic political culture and institutions, and the very intimate, accountable and horizontal democratic relations between the state and society allowed the state to penetrate and control the society; the state, its institutions and the incumbents enjoyed legitimacy that resulted from consensus politics and democratic practice; consensus politics and negotiations prevented majoritarian politics from creating categories of "majority" and "minority" in the polity. The Acoli states, as such, were sites of legitimacy, accountability, peace and stability.[86]

Acoliland and its Neighbors

Relations between Acoliland and its neighbors were determined by the nature of the political institutions, proximity, kinship ties, histories of migrations between Acoliland and its neighbors, trade networks, past relations, and domestic and foreign policies. Generally, relations with its neighbors were quite peaceful. For example, J.E. Lamphear and J.B. Webster pointed out that:

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[85] See Karugire, *A Political History:* 25. See also, Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 104; Bere, "Awich – A Biographical Note,": 76; Gray, "Acholi History, 1860–1901," *Uganda Journal*, 15, 2 (September 1951): 122.

[86] This does not suggest that conflicts and the abuse of political power did not exist in and among Acoli states. Rather, traditions, customs and the nature of the polities kept them in check. For a similar view, see, for example, Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 10–11.

> Historically, Jie relations with the Acholi were mainly good. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century when other tribes [*sic*] with rival pastoral interests had limited Jie grazing on the north, east, and south, the Jie had turned to the west for their dry-season cattle camps, and had grazed peacefully on the frontiers of Acholi and Labwor… and during the famine years members of one tribe could expect help from friends or even relatives of the other.[87]

This example was generally representative of relations between Acoli and most of its neighbors, especially the Bunyoro, Alur, Madi and Jo pa Lwo. Relations between Acoli and Lango, on the other hand, were characterized by both accommodation and confrontation. For example, A. Tarantino suggested that the Langi occasionally waged wars against the Acoli. The objectives of these wars, he maintained, were to acquire slaves, cattle, goats and pastures, and avenge past humiliation suffered at the hands of the Acoli.[88] Tarantino's observation also suggests that the Acoli occasionally waged wars against the Langi.

Acoliland and the Outside World

Contacts between Acoliland and the outside world increased at the turn of the nineteenth century. During that period, Acoliland became an important trading post and corridor between Bunyoro-Kitara and Gondokoro. It attracted a large number of slave, ivory and cattle raiders and elephant hunters from Egypt, Syria, Europe, Abyssinia and Turkey.[89] By the time Speke, Grant and Baker, for example, reached Acoli in the 1860s, these raiders and traders had pillaged and left portions of Acoliland desolate. Thus, Baker reported:

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[87] See J.E. Lamphear and J.B. Webster, "The Jie-Acholi War: Oral Evidence from two sides of the Battle Front," *Uganda Journal*, 35, 1 (1971): 25.

[88] A. Tarantino, "Notes: Lango Wars," *Uganda Journal*, 12, 2 (September 1948): 210–35. See also, A. Tarantino, "The Origin of the Lango," *Uganda Journal*, 10, 1 (March 1946): 12–13; Garling, *The Acholi of Uganda* : 5; Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango:* 47, 126–127.

[89] See S. Baker, *The Albert Nyanza: Great Britain of the Nile*. London: Macmillan, 1879: 7–16, reprinted in R.O. Collins, *East African History*. New York: Markus Wiener Publishing, 1990: 104–109; Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History": 6; Allen, "Acholi Decision Making": 45.

> The whole of the Shooa country (Chua) was assumed to belong to Mahommed Wat-el-Mek, the vakeel of Dobono, and we passed the ashes of several villages that had been burnt and plundered by these people between Farajoke and this point; the entire country had been laid waste. There was no great chief at Shooa; each village had its separate headman; formerly the population had occupied the lower ground, but since the Turks had been established at Faloro and had plundered the neighbouring tribes [*sic*], the natives had forsaken their villages and had located themselves among the mountains for security.[90]

Later, when Baker returned to Acoli in 1872 in his new role as the Governor General of Equatoria Province, he set out to conquer and annex the territory to the province. However, he failed to bring the territory under the administration of the province because, as he found out, in order to annex the territories, he had to engage in endless wars against every decentralized Acoli state. In addition, the decentralized and democratic nature of authority in the territories made it a nightmare to govern the states through imperial designs. Another task which he was assigned to accomplish was to "abolish" the slave trade in the region. However, he did not accomplish this task for two reasons. First, he had no regular and reliable troops to end the slave trade and slave raids. This forced him to employ some of the slave and ivory raiders, including the notorious Mohammed Wat El Mek, to accomplish the mission. Secondly, he had no regular supplies with which to feed his troops and therefore imposed a corn tax on the Acoli. Under the guise of enforcing the gain tax, Bakers's troops raided Acoli for slaves, ivory and cattle. Thus, Gray noted that the "requisitioning expeditions were nothing better than freebooting forays, in the course whereof human beings and other things besides food supplies were carried off and the whole villages set on fire."[91]

These raids continued under the rule and with the tacit support of Gordon and Pasha. For example, Hawashi Effendi, Pasha's deputy Governor General of the Province, acquired over 700 head of cattle and

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[90] Baker, *The Albert N'yanza*, cited in J.M. Gray, "Acholi History, 1860–1901," *Uganda Journal*, 15, 2 (September 1951): 124. See also, Nyakatura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom*: 115.

[91] Gray, "Acholi History, 1860–1901": 134.

11,000 goats by raiding the people.[92] When Khartoum fell to the Madhist in 1885, Pasha fled to the East African coast via Acoli in 1889, leaving his slave and ivory raiding troops in Acoli. The troops and other slave and ivory raiders continued to pillage Acoliland.[93]

The insecurity that stemmed from the slave and ivory raids devastated the economy of the Acoli. The slave raids also dislocated the political systems that had rested on consensus politics, democratic practice and negotiations. Some states were forced, for the purpose of protection against slave raiders, to collaborate or create or merge into federal decentralized states. The federated states, which appeared to an outsider as a large centralized state, maintained the independence of their constituent parts and the participatory democratic practices of the pre-federation era.

There were a few states on which the slave raiders imposed new rulers. For example, Otto, the son of Kociba, was appointed by the raiders to rule the Acoli state of Obbo. Otto, operating under the instructions of the slave raiders, disregarded the council of elders and ruled with unprecedented brutality. Despite the enormous firearms he had accumulated and the support he obtained from the raiders, the people drove him out of the state and killed him in Juba. Others like him faced similar punishment from their people. It was precisely the long traditions of democratic practice and consensus politics, which Professor Karugire discussed at length, that made it impossible for the rulers who were imposed on the states to control the society.[94]

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[92] Mounteney and Jephson, *Emin Pasha – The Rebellion at the Equator*, cited in Allen, "Acholi Decision Making": 47.

[93] See Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History":1–8; Bere, "Awich, A Biographical Note and a Chapter on Acholi History": 76–78; Gray, "Acholi History,": 121–143; H.B. Hansen, "Pre-colonial Immigrants and Colonial Servants: The Nubians in Uganda Revisited," *African Affairs*, 90 (1991): 559–580; M. de K. Hemphill, "The British Sphere, 1884–94," in R. Oliver and G. Mathew, eds., *History of East Africa,* vol. I. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963: 404–404. M. Gray, "Rwot Ochama of Payira," *Uganda Journal*, 12 (1948): 121–128; "Acholi History, 1860–1901."

[94] The effects of the raids on Acoliland, and the deposition of Otto are discussed by Allen, "Acholi Decision Making": 45–49. For an excellent discussion of the long-established democratic traditions of the Acoli, see Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 10–11, 25.

CHAPTER 3

Crises of Legitimacy and Political Violence in Colonial Uganda, 1890–1962

K.W. Grundy and M.A. Weinstein noted how imperialism normalizes and justifies political violence against the target population:

> Beyond the double-morality…is the idea that one's own group has a civilizing mission with respect to other groups. This civilizing mission involves the notion that one's own group has a duty to impose its normative order on other peoples....The view that some people have a civilizing mission became widespread in the nineteenth century as a justification for imperialism.... The major justification of violence in the expansionist ideology is that it functions to facilitate the domination of a superior group over an inferior group.... In an expansionist's ideology violence against the inferior is justified as a right and in some instances even the duty of the superior.[1]

Uganda, as an imperial territorial construction and a tragic human drama, was the "child" of late nineteenth-century European imperialism. The motives for this expansionist violence may be lumped under two broad categories: non-economic and economic. According to two of the leading scholars of the non-economic motives for British imperialism in Africa, R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, the British conquest of Uganda had nothing to do with the so-called new imperialism or economic imperialism that

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[1] K. W. Grundy and M. A. Weinstein, *The Ideologies of Violence*. Ohio: Charles E. Merill, 1974: 50–1.

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O. Otunnu, *Crisis of Legitimacy and Political Violence in Uganda, 1890 to 1979*, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33156-0_3

arose in Europe after 1870. Rather, the motive was non-economic: the persistent local crisis in Egypt threatened the security of the Suez Canal and upset the equilibrium of informal influence. The threat to the Suez Canal was itself a threat to the British economic interests in India. This threat was exacerbated by other local crises along the Nile Valley: the Madhist revolt in Sudan, the politico-religious wars in Buganda and the Fashoda crisis. These local crises, they concluded, threatened the security of the Suez Canal so much that Britain was compelled reluctantly to occupy the Nile valley: Uganda, the Sudan and Egypt.[2]

However, as A.G. Hopkins demonstrated, Robin and Gallagher's perspective on the nature and significance of the so-called local crisis in Egypt, which was the foundation of the non-economic theory, is not supported by existing evidence.[3] The economic theory of British imperialism in Uganda, on the other hand, was advanced by many political commentators, including one of the main architects of British imperialism in Uganda, Captain Lugard.[4] According to Lugard, both business and government officials in Britain clamored for economic expansion in Africa, Uganda included. This position

> has been strongly endorsed by some of our leading statesmen….The late Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, spoke strongly in this sense in Liverpool. The present Foreign Secretary spoke in no less forcible terms at the Imperial Institute. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out at Birmingham how directly to the advantage of the working men this policy of prudent but continuous extension is. The 'Scramble for Africa' by the nations of Europe – an incident without parallel in the history of the world – was due to growing commercial rivalry, which brought home to civilized

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[2] R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1961: 198–202, 290–378, 465. See also, C. Cross, *The Fall of the British Empire, 1918–1968*. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1968: 74; F. D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*. Vol. I. London: Frank Cass, 1968: 480–484; M. de K. Hemphill, "The British Empire, 1884–94," in R. Oliver and G. Mathew, eds., *History of East Africa*, vol. I. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963: 391–432; D. A. Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919," in V. Harlow and E. M. Chilver, eds. *History of East Africa*, vol. II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965: 62.

[3] A. G. Hopkins, "The Victorians and Africa: A Reconsideration of the Occupation of Egypt, 1882," *Journal of African History*, 27 (1986): 363–391.

[4] See, for a start, Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*: 380–81; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 40; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 1; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 15.

> nations the vital necessity for securing the only remaining fields for industrial enterprise and expansion.[5]

Lugard's observation was also supported by the arguments and analysis provided by the London Chamber of Commerce in its Annual Report of June 20, 1893.[6]

The economic perspective suggested that the perceived economic viability of Uganda persuaded the British, French, Germans and Belgians to scramble over the territory.[7] To prevent the rivalries from developing into a war among the European imperial powers, the Anglo-German Treaty of July 1890 (Heligoland Treaty) was signed. This treaty brought Uganda under the British sphere of imperial influence.[8] To realize the economic imperative of conquest, the colonial regime would have to impose its own version of political legitimacy and stability and make the territory as economically profitable to Britain as possible. This imperial imperative meant that the cardinal function of the colonial state was to exploit the colonized society. Such an imperative would logically turn the colonial state into an organized criminal entity to plunder and pillage the society.[9]

However, the task of imposing imperial stability to facilitate the exploitation of the "treasure house" would not be easy because the legitimacy of both the colonial state and the regime was based exclusively on the prevailing norms of imperial European international laws (the Berlin

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[5] Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*: 380–81. See also, Lugard, Ibid: viii, 318, 382, 398. *The Times*, London, June 2, 1892; J. D. Hargreaves, *West Africa Partitioned*. Vol. I. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin, 1974: 12.

[6] Cited in Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 120.

[7] Ibid: 120–124, provided a good analysis of how Britain, Germany and Belgium rivaled over Uganda. For other works that discussed how economic imperatives forced the imperial powers to partition and colonize Africa, see A. A. Boahen, ed., *General History of Africa*. London: James Currey (UNESCO), 1990: 14–15; *African Perspective on Colonialism*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987: 32–39; J.M. Mackenze, *The Partition of Africa, 1880–1900*. London: Methuen, 1983: 27; W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House/London: Bogle-L' Ouverture, 1972; Boahen, ed., *General History of Africa*: 10–14.

[8] See, for a start, Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 40; Karugire, *A Political History*: 53–54; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 1; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 15; E. A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*. London: Heinemann, 1974: 54.

[9] Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 161–208. See also, Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment*. 54.

Conference of 1884–1885) and agreements which Britain reached with other imperial powers interested in the territory. Another layer of imperial legitimacy it acquired stemmed from its hegemonic ideology of race. This ideology presented black peoples as "children," "savages," "heathens" and irredeemably different from Europeans and out of the mainstream of civilization. This ideology also maintained that pre-colonial socio-economic and political formations in Africa had no value and were incompatible with progress and development. The only way these societies could avoid eternal stagnation, the hegemonic and racist ideology insisted, was to adopt European type institutions and values, and follow the path prescribed by those who had a monopoly over knowledge and development: the Europeans. Among other things, this ideology would portray anti-colonial political violence as resistance to civilization, modernization, law and order. This ideology—which justified political violence against the colonized as a necessary measure to impose and protect what the ideologists deemed legitimate order, or to destroy what the ideologists deemed illegitimate—would contribute to unrestrained imperial violence against the colonized.[10]

While international imperial laws and the racist ideology provided the British colonial presence with international legitimacy, they generated a severe crisis of legitimacy for it and its hegemonic project in the territory. This was so because the regime did not meet any of the criteria of legitimacy in pre-colonial Uganda. Furthermore, pre-colonial societies did not recognize the imperial laws, agreements between Britain and other imperial powers and the racist ideology which were central to the imperial presence. It was precisely the profound discrepancy between the concepts of European imperial legitimacy and the concepts and practices of political legitimacy in pre-colonial Uganda that generated and sustained a profound legitimation deficit of the colonial presence. Confronted with such a severe crisis, the regime would guarantee the survival of its hegemonic project through political violence, manipulation, co-option and fragmentation of the societies.

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[10] See, for example, J. Rex, *Race and Ethnicity*. Stratford, England: Open University Press, 1986: 40; M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1996: 5–7; Boahen, ed. *General History of Africa*: 15; R. H. Jackson and C. G. Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 24, 1 (1986): 5–6; A. D. Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1983: 26; Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*: 37–52; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?* : 5–15; Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*: 69–70.

The Creation of the Colonial State through Territorial Demarcation and Political Violence

One of the first tasks the imperial presence embarked on was to determine the territorial boundaries of the colonial state.[11] This process began in European capitals among the imperial diplomats and bureaucrats. These people, who knew nothing about the topographical, pre-colonial socio-economic and political formations, and cultural and demographic characteristics of the territories, signed treaties and multilateral agreements that determined the boundaries of the colonial state. Since the architects of the boundaries lacked reliable topographical information, they shifted the frontiers of the state as often as new and better information accumulated. The boundaries also shifted many times during the colonial period due to economic and political rivalries among the four imperial powers with vested interests in the regions: Britain, Germany, France and Belgium. Occasionally, administrative imperative also determined the pace and nature of the shifting frontiers and population exchange among the imperial powers.[12]

The Uganda-Congo and Uganda-Rwanda (Ruanda-Urundi) boundaries, for example, were largely shaped by a series of diplomatic skirmishes among the three major European imperial powers: Germany, Belgium (King Leopold) and Britain.[13] By 1898, a series of agreements had been signed delineating the Uganda-Congo border. In 1902 and 1907–1908, a combined boundary commission redefined the boundary between the two countries. The topographical information on which the paper partitions were based, however, was grossly inaccurate. For example, according to the paper partition, Britain had assumed that Lake Edward was located in Uganda, not in the Congo state. It had assumed also that, as per Article I of the 1890 Anglo-German Agreement, Mufumbiro was in Uganda.[14] This inaccurate topographical information nearly led Britain and Belgium to war over the Mufumbiro region in 1909.[15] War between the two imperial powers was only averted when Britain discovered that Mufumbiro was actually in Belgian-Congo. During the same period, Germany and Belgium nearly went to war over the Kivu region. To contain the feverish territorial rivalries, the three imperial powers convened a conference in Brussels in February 1910. The conference prepared the grounds for the Anglo-Belgian protocol of May 14, 1910, which delimited Uganda's new western boundary. This boundary ran across Lake Edward, down River Semiliki to Lake Albert, and across Albert to the Congo-Nile watershed. By this delimitation, Britain acquired part of the Mufumbiro region, as well as the Kigezi region and their inhabitants. In May 1913, the Anglo-Belgian commission readjusted the western boundary by handing over a chunk of the territory, including Mahagi Port, to Belgium. More boundary adjustments were made following the Anglo-Belgian Agreement of February 1915 and the Anglo-Belgian Protocol of October 24, 1915. During the same period, other boundary adjustments were made. For example, in 1894, Britain handed over a large piece of land, including the Lado enclave and the Mahagi strip, to Belgium. Some of these territories were given back to Britain in May 1906. In 1914, Belgium transferred the remainder of the southern part of the Lado Enclave to Uganda.[16]

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[11] According to Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*: 27, colonial regimes began their project by defining the territorial boundaries of the states because boundaries were the first of the identifying features of modern European states.

[12] See *Uganda Order in Council, 1902*. Part II, in Uganda Protectorate, *Despatch from the Governor of Uganda to the Secretary of State for the Colonies*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1956: 82–84, 92–96; Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly*. Part III. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 578; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 120–123; A. C. McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

[13] See *Uganda Order in Council, 1902*, in Uganda Protectorate, *Despatch from the Governor of Uganda to the Secretary for Colonies*: 82; McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 231–40.

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[14] McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 234, 241.

[15] H. B. Thomas and A. B. Spencer, *A History of Uganda Land and Surveys and of the Uganda Land and Survey Department*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1938: 34. See also, McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 242.

[16] McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 240–248. See also, Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 56–67; "Extracts from Lt. Col. C. Delme-Radcliffe's Typescript Diary Report on the Delimitation of the AngloDOUBLEHYPHENGerman Boundary, Uganda, 1902–1904," *Uganda Journal*, n.d.: 9–29; H. B. Thomas, "The Kagera Triangle and the Kagera Salient," *Uganda Journal*, 31, 1 (March 1959): 73. Among the works that examined the nature and implications of colonial boundaries in Africa are S. Touval, *The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972; C.G. Widstrand, ed. *African Boundary Problems*. Uppsala: African Institute of African Studies, 1969.

By the time the Uganda-Congo and Uganda-Rwanda borders took their current shape, the boundaries had shifted many times. The shifting frontiers violently uprooted and split many pre-colonial states, families, cemeteries, shrines, villages and homesteads. Some of the nationalities ended up as minorities in the three states: Uganda, Rwanda and Congo. The Banyarwanda, for example, ended up in the three states. Similarly, the Baamba and the Bakonjo ended up as minorities in Uganda and Congo. The physical, psychological and psychosocial consequences of the continuous violent disruptions, dislocations, uncertainty and violent relocation of the colonized were quite dehumanizing and profound. The violent and continuous relocations also disrupted economic activities and impoverished the affected population. Another enduring effect of this violence was that the colonized did not recognize the legitimacy of the colonial state because it destroyed families, eroded and destabilized kinship ties, fractured and imposed new layers of identities and political legitimacy, partitioned and desecrated sites of religious worship and ceremonies, disrupted economic activities and became a major source of insecurity.[17]

The Uganda-Kenya border also shifted many times. The nature and pace of boundary-making in this area was slightly different because both countries were colonized by Britain. Additionally, in the terminal phase of the colonial rule, the regime attempted to build an East African Federation. These factors discouraged any attempt to draw a precise and firm border between the two colonial states for much of the colonial era. They also allowed the imperial power to adjust and readjust the border anytime and in any fashion it desired. For example, on April 1, 1902, the imperial power transferred the Eastern Province of Uganda to Kenya. Due to lack of reliable topographical information, it accidentally transferred the Central and Rudolf Provinces of Uganda to Kenya as well. This boundary adjustment was dictated by economic considerations: the desire to bring a large area suitable for White settlement under one administration and provide a large number of Africans as cheap labor to the white settlers in Kenya.[18]

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[17] For a similar view about the effects of political violence, see League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, *Working with Refugee and Asylum Seekers*. Geneva: League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1991: 86–91; A. Zwi and A. Ugalde, “Towards an Epidemiology of Political Violence in the Third World,” *Social Science Medical Journal*, 28, 7 (1989): 633–42; M. Eisenbruch, “From Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder to Cultural Bereavement: Diagnosis of Southeast Asian Refugees,” *Social Science and Medicine*, 33, 6 (1991): 673–680; E. Ehrensaft, “Culture in the Diagnosis and Treatment of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder,” *Transcultural Psychiatric Review*, 4 (1995): 395–406; A. Dawes, C. Tredoux and A. Feinstein, “Political Violence in South Africa: Some Reflections on Children of the Violent Destruction of their Community,” *International Journal of Mental Health*, 18, 2 (1989): 16–43; E. Cairns and R. Wilson, “Mental Health Aspects of Political Violence in Northern Ireland,” *International Journal Mental of Mental Health*, 18, 2 (1989): 38–56; I. Martin-Baro, “Political Violence and War as Causes of Psychosocial Trauma in El Salvador,” *International Journal Mental of Mental Health*, 18, 2 (1989): 3–20; Gupta, *The Economics of Political Violence*; Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*: especially: 102–4.

Another boundary adjustment was made in 1910 when the territory that had been renamed "Eastern Uganda" was transferred to Kenya. In 1926, the boundary was redrawn when the territory that had become the Rudolf Province of Uganda was transferred to Kenya. In the same year, the regime released a schedule which vaguely described the Uganda-Kenya boundary from the Sudan to Tanganyika. This schedule was constantly revised. For example, in 1936 the boundary across Mt. Elgon was reinterpreted.[19] More boundary adjustments were carried out in 1959–60 near the Turkana escarpment. The Karasuk (Karapokot) region, which had been handed over to Kenya, finally came under its administration in July 1970.[20]

The shifting colonial frontiers cut across many families and nationalities. For example, the Bagishu, Samia, Sebei and Etesot families and nationalities ended up in both Uganda and Kenya. This meant that in a situation of conflict, these people may be declared "aliens" or "stateless." The arbitrary nature of the boundary, as perceived by the colonized, and the violence that accompanied the colonial state formation, also deprived the state of some important attributes and functions of empirical statehood.

The evolution of the Uganda-Sudan boundary was generally similar to the Uganda-Kenya boundary because both territories were under British rule.[21] In June 1910, for example, Juba and a portion of the Lado Enclave, which were originally part of northern Uganda, were handed over to the

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[18] S. Aaronovitch, *Crisis in Kenya*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1947: 24. See also, A. T. Matson, "Uganda's old Eastern Province and East Africa's Federal capital," *Uganda Journal*, 22, 1 (March 1958): 43–53; M. S. Kiwanuka, "Colonial Policies and Administration in Africa: The Myths of the Contrasts," *African Historical Studies*, III, 2 (1970): 302.

[19] McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 248–50, 252; Uganda Protectorate, *Despatch from the Governor of Uganda to the Secretary for Colonies*: 92–3.

[20] See McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 253–56. See also, G. Bennett, "The Eastern Boundary of Uganda in 1902," *Uganda Journal*, 33, 1 (March 1959): 69–72; Matson, "Uganda's old Eastern Province and East Africa's Federal capital": 43–53.

[21] McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*: 256–7.

Sudan. In April 1914, another adjustment was made when a portion of the Enclave (West Nile region) was handed over to Uganda. In 1926 a large portion of the Tereteinia (part of the Chua District of Acoli) was handed over to the Sudan. These borders continued to shift until the late 1930s.[22]

Major C.H. Stigand highlighted some of the obvious effects of the colonial boundaries on the colonized peoples of West Nile:

> That part of Equatorial Africa which, since its cession to King Leopold II in 1894, has been known as the Lado Enclave, is situated on the left bank of the Upper Nile, or Bahr el Jebel.... The northern and southern frontiers, and that portion of the west which was conterminous with the Bahr el Ghazal, consisted of arbitrary lines. It is not surprising that such lines should ruthlessly cut tribes [*sic*] and sub-tribes, and even villages, into two, and so can in no sense be considered good boundaries. A frontier of this sort has often had to be designed on paper, where political reasons have demanded the delimitation of a territory as yet little known or exploited.... The Congo frontier, or the Nile-Congo water-parting, is not much better, for here we find tribes living astride of the frontier, and these people are unable to recognise the water-parting as a frontier, for it is a boundary which has never existed for them.[23]

J. Middleton, focusing on Lugbaraland, added that the line between the Congo and Uganda "runs between related settlements and even compounds, and in some places even cuts scattered compounds in half."[24]

As in the case of the Uganda-Congo, Uganda-Rwanda and Uganda-Kenya borders, the Uganda-Sudan border cut across families and nationalities. For example, the Acoli ended up in both Uganda and Sudan. The Kakwa and Lugbara ended up in Uganda, Sudan and Congo. Thus, Mzee A. Musa Lobidra lamented: "Colonial lines divided the bedroom from the kitchen, the husband from his wife, the mother from her children, the living from the dead and homesteads from water wells.... Now, does it seem strange to you that yesterday we were considered and treated as

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[22] Ibid: 257–64.

[23] See Major C. H. Stigand, *Equatorial: The Lado Enclave*. London: Frank Cass, 1968: 2–3. See also, Stigand, Ibid: 230–234; Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda": 39–40.

[24] J. Middleton, "Some Effects of Colonial Rule Among the Lugbara," in V. Turner, ed., *Colonialism in Africa*. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971: 6.

Ugandans, today we are referred to and treated as Sudanese, and tomorrow we will be perceived and treated as Zairians (Congolese)?"[25]

Mzee Musa's view represents the dilemma faced by every nationality that ended up in Uganda and another neighboring country. It also highlights the severe crisis of legitimacy of the colonial state.[26] This crisis, as R.H. Jackson and C.G. Rosberg noted, is common in many states in Africa:

> African states are direct successors of the European colonies that were alien entities to most Africans. Their legitimacy derived not from internal African consent, but from international agreements – primarily among European states – beginning with the Berlin Conference of 1884–5. Their borders were usually defined not by African political facts or geography, but rather by international rules of continental partition and occupation established for that purpose.[27]

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Buganda

The conquest and occupation of Buganda was the work of Christian missionaries and the representatives of the British government: the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC). In 1888, the IBEAC was granted a Royal Charter to monopolize trade and control the British possessions of Uganda and Kenya.[28] Accordingly, in December 1890, a British army officer who had served in India and Nyasaland (Malawi), Captain Lugard, left for Buganda to carry out the responsibilities of the company and the government. Without waiting for the Kabaka's permission at Jinja, as was the custom for Europeans visiting Buganda, Lugard arrived in Buganda on December 8, 1890. Upon his arrival, he terrorized the place by firing many rounds of Maxim gun and rifles in the air, and parading his well-armed troops. These acts of political violence were intended to deter any possible challenge to the imperial presence in Buganda. The objective of the terror was instantaneously achieved: the Buganda government recognized the supremacy of the British government.[29]

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[25] Mzee A. Musa Lobidra, trader, 78 years, interview with author, Ajumani, West Nile, June 18, 1984. The observation made by Mzee Lobidra is part of a popular folklore in Uganda.

[26] See Stigand, *Equatorial: The Lado Enclave*: 1–13; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 9–12, 26, 56–67, 70; Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919,": 29, 39–40.

[27] Jackson and Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment,": 5–6.

[28] See Mackenze, *The Partition of Africa*: 27; W. E. F. Ward, *Emergent Africa*: London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967: 65.

The arrival of Lugard coincided with the growing violence that followed the divorce between the two Christian parties in Buganda. In the ensuing struggle for control of the state, the Catholics, with their overwhelming numerical superiority and the backing of Kabaka Mwanga, were on the verge of forcing the Protestants out of Buganda. At that point, Lugard allied with the Protestants. He did so for a number of reasons. First, as the representative of Her Majesty's Government, he had the obligation to protect British citizens and interests in Uganda. Those citizens were Protestants from England. Protecting the Anglican Protestants would in turn provide him with readymade and loyal collaborators who would facilitate the imposition of British imperial project in the country.[30] Secondly, he had been a sympathizer and supporter of the CMS since his parents worked as CMS missionaries in India. Thirdly, his company had been relying heavily on the financial support of the CMS. All that he needed was an opportunity to tilt the balance of political terror in favor of his allies: the Anglican Protestants in Buganda.[31]

The opportunity presented itself in January 1892, when a Catholic, who had been accused of murdering a Protestant in self-defense, was acquitted by Buganda's legal experts. Lugard responded to the verdict by demanding that Kabaka Mwanga punish the Catholic or face war. Mwanga insisted that the verdict was legitimate because it had been passed by the only legitimate court in the land. Mwanga's position left Lugard with no honorable choice but to demonstrate that his threat and authority were credible. Accordingly, he distributed some 500 guns to his Protestant allies. Kabaka Mwanga, for his part, distributed guns to the Catholics. On January 24, 1892, Lugard declared war on the Buganda government and the Catholics.[32] It did not take long for Lugard and the Protestants, who possessed overwhelming fire power, to defeat Mwanga and the Catholics. On March 15, 1892, Captain Williams, with two European soldiers and

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[29] M. Perham and M. Bull, eds., *The Diaries of Lugard*. Volume Four. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963: 36–45; Ward, *Emergent Africa*: 67.

[30] R. Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration," in R. Owen and B. Sutclife, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*. London: Longman, 1980: 120–123, suggested the types of "collaborators" who were best suited for the colonial project.

[31] See Perham and Bull, eds., *The Diaries of Lugard*. Volume Four: 18–19.

[32] J. A. Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala*. Kampala: Longmans, 1969: 17.

600 Baganda musketeers, pursued the king, who had now become a fugitive in his own kingdom, and the Catholics to Buddu and Ssese Islands. Unable to put up a credible armed resistance against British imperialism, Mwanga and some Catholics fled the country and became refugees in Tanganyika.[33]

From start to finish, the war was perceived and executed by the Europeans who led the warring parties as an extension of imperial rivalries between Britain and France. For example, R. Mukherjee pointed out that:

> Lugard mentions how frequently the missionaries became involved in factional intrigues as well as national politics. The rival claims of the British and German powers (the latter supported by the French) were ably upheld by these ministers of God in their day to day work among the "heathen" Africans. The Wa-Ingleza and Wa-Fransa factions were set up and their African followers were encouraged to fight, not for their own freedom or for the prosperity of their land, but in order to further the cause of respective foreign powers.[34]

Sir F. Jackson added that the Roman Catholic, under Cardinal Lavigerie, "was placing all local influence of the Roman Catholic Missions on the side of German trade, in consideration of the support which Germany was prepared to give his mission by the exclusion of British influence."[35]

Similarly, Sir C. Eliot, the Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate, noted that the rivalry between the Catholics and the Protestants "was particularly severe and practically political, since they represented the British and the French parties."[36] It was, therefore, not surprising that the French government protested and demanded compensation from the British government for the losses suffered by the French missionaries in Buganda. According to the French government, the losses included the destruction of the Rubaga Cathedral, 60 chapels, 12 schools, and the capture and sale into slavery of some 50,000 Catholic converts. In 1898, the British government compensated the French missionaries, not the Africans who bore the brunt of imperial violence.[37]

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[33] J. R. L. Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa, 1891–1894*. London/New York: Edward Arnold, 1897: 90.

[34] Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 118.

[35] Sir F. Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa*. London: Edward Arnold, 1930: 260. See also, Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 122.

[36] Sir C. Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate*. London: Edward Arnold, 1905: 28.

Immediately after its decisive military victory, the Protestant party invited Mwanga back to Buganda on March 30, 1892. On April 5, 1892, Lugard and the Protestants imposed a settlement on the Kabaka and the Catholics. According to E.G. Rutiba, the settlement divided Buganda into semi-autonomous territories under the rule of the warring parties: "Buddu and some of the Ssese Islands were allotted to the Roman Catholics. The rest of Buganda (except a small area which went to the Muslims) was assigned to the Protestants. All the chieftainships in any one particular area belonged to the religious group to which the area was allocated."[38] This settlement made the Protestant party the dominant political party, followed by the Catholic and the Moslem parties respectively. It also increased the systematic and institutionalized discriminations and alienation along political *cum* religious lines in Buganda.[39]

In April 1893, a new representative of the British government, Sir Gerald Portal, arrived in Buganda and formally hoisted the Union Jack. The following month, Portal persuaded the besieged Mwanga to sign a treaty recognizing British protection over Buganda. From that moment, the Kabakaship formally lost one of its most important criteria of political legitimacy: the direct protection of Buganda and its interests. This treaty also reinforced the institutionalized and discriminatory power-sharing between the Christian parties. The following year, Uganda was formally declared a British "protectorate."[40]

By 1897, the Kabaka had lost almost all his power and authority in Buganda. Indeed, it had become quite common for the custodians of the new order, colonial administrators, missionaries, Christian chiefs and the some of the Christian converts, to lecture Mwanga on morality, political legitimacy and good governance. This humiliation increased so much that Mwanga decided to eliminate the rebellious Christian chiefs and converts. He targeted these groups for elimination because the success of the colonial projects in Buganda depended on their collaboration with the colonial regime. They were also targeted for liquidation because they propagated a new power and ideology of legitimacy that destroyed the legitimizing force of Buganda traditions which had accorded power and legitimacy to the Kabaka. However, before Mwanga had translated his plan into action, he was overthrown in a coup on September 10, 1898. Once again, the fugitive king fled and became a refugee in Bukoba (Tanganyika).[41]

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[37] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 82; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation:* 53,56, 90; Perham and Bull, eds., *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, Volume Four: 15–26; Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala*: 1, 6, 23; Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa, 1891–1894*: 91; Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*. Vol. II. London: Frank Cass, 1968: 1–543.

[38] Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 7.

[39] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 82; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 53, 90; Perham and Bull, eds., *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, Volume Four: 15–26; Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala*: 1, 6, 23; Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 91; Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II: 1–543.

[40] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 83–85; Hemphill, "The British Empire, 1884–94," in Oliver and Mathew, ed. *History of East Africa*: 391–393.

After the coup, the regime installed Mwanga's infant son, Daudi Chua, on the throne. In the meantime, the fugitive king became a refugee warrior and reorganized his troops and waged a series of guerrilla attacks on the regime and its Baganda allies. The regime responded by razing many villages to the ground and destroying crops, as it pursued Mwanga. For example, in one of the imperial pacification campaigns, Grant was dispatched with two Maxim guns, 3000 soldiers armed with guns and thousands others armed with spears to pursue Mwanga. Grant reported that they destroyed enough crops and food to starve the people for at least three months. He also reported that they captured many unarmed civilians, including 89 unarmed women and children.[42]

The regime employed unrestrained political violence for a number of reasons.[43] First, the regime maintained that the colonized respected unrestrained terror. Secondly, the terror was intended to destroy any challenge to the legitimacy of the colonial regime in Buganda. In this instance, terror was aimed at both the primary and secondary targets. While members the former were exterminated, the latter considered themselves as potential corpses. The objective of the political terror worked: most of the challengers withdrew their open opposition to the regime.[44] Those Baganda who were still determined to drive out the regime eventually lost hope in their struggle when Mwanga fled to Lango, where he joined Kabalega and put up his last determined anti-colonial resistance. In April 1899, both Mwanga and Kabalega were captured and taken out of the country to Kismayu and then to the Seychelles.[45]

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[41] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 67.

[42] "Memorandum from Grants dated 12.9. 1897 and 14.9.1897," cited in Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 70.

[43] For the purpose of this work, unrestrained violence refers to violence which is overwhelmingly disproportionate to the level of actual, as opposed to perceived, threat. The underlying assumption is that the level of threat determines the level of regime violence and terror.

[44] Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 70. Similar objectives are highlighted in many accounts including Macdonald, *Soldering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 296, 306; A. G. Boyle, Sub-Commissioner's Office at Jinja, to H. M. Acting Commissioner, Entebbe, Memorandum, March 4, 1905. CO536/1; Punitive Operations, Entebbe, 25 October,

The wars against Mwanga (1897–1899), against the Sudanese troops (1897–1898) and against Kabarega (1891–1899)[46] caused much instability, increased the financial cost of colonizing the country and made the colonial state despotically strong but infrastructurally very weak. The effects of the wars on the colonial state convinced the British government of the urgent need to restore stability in the country. Consequently, it dispatched a Special Commissioner for the Protectorate, Sir Harry Johnston, in September 1899. After six months of protracted negotiations with the Buganda establishment, Johnston bribed and manipulated the Buganda establishment against its people by signing the landmark Buganda Agreement of 1900. The Agreement defined the dependent and unequal relationship between Buganda and the imperial power; redefined the powers of the Kabaka, his ministers, chiefs and the Lukiko (Buganda parliament); set the ground rules for the allocation of land in Buganda; and redefined the boundaries of Buganda to include some provinces of Bunyoro which had been handed over to Buganda by Colonel Colvile.[47]

1905. CO536/3. For informative discussions on objectives and utility of political violence, see K. W. Grundy and M. A. Weinstein, *The Ideologies of Violence*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merill, 1974: v, 14, 29–68; B. Woodward, “Moral Reasoning and Repressive Violence,” in M. Hoefnagels, ed., *Repression and Repressive Violence*. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitinger, 1977: 14–16; J. J. Paust, “A Definitional Focus,” in Y. Alexander and S. M. Finger, eds., *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: The John Jay, 1977: 19–22.; T. D. Gurr, “The Political Origins of State Violence and Terror: A Theoretical Analysis,” in M. Stohl and G. A. Lopez, eds. *Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986: 45–70; Schelling, *Arms and Influence*: 9–34.

[45] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 91, 95–96.

[46] See Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 222; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 91, 95–96.

[47] For informative works about the 1900 Agreement, see D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960: especially: 3–179; Low, *The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom*. London: Heinemann, 1971: 32–41; T.B. Kabwegyere, “Land and the Growth of Social Stratification in Uganda: A Sociological Interpretation,” in B.A. Ogot, ed., *History and Social Change in East Africa*. Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1976: 118–120; A. D. Roberts, “The Sub-imperialism of the Baganda,” *Journal of*

The Agreement had a number of important implications for the history of political violence. First, it set Buganda apart from the rest of the colonial state. This was due to the fact that the Agreement accorded a special status and privileges to Buganda. Secondly, by handing over some territories of Bunyoro to Buganda, the Agreement exacerbated conflict over land and resources between Bunyoro and Buganda. This conflict would become a major source of political instability and violence in Uganda from the 1930s to the 1960s. Thirdly, by bribing and manipulating the Buganda establishment to compensate for its legitimation deficit, the colonial state systematically discriminated against the *Bataka* (clan heads) and *Bakopi* (peasants) in Buganda. The systematic discrimination and alienation were best represented by the new land tenure systems in Buganda. The land question would become one of the major causes of continuous political instability and political violence in Buganda.[48] Fourthly, it made the state despotically and infrastructurally strong in Buganda. The state became infrastructurally strong because the Agreement provided it with the opportunity to coercively penetrate and control Buganda. Finally, it made it possible and pragmatic for the penetration and colonization of the rest of Uganda to radiate from Buganda.[49]

The colonization of the other territories was carried out largely by colonial agents from Baganda. The colonial state employed the Baganda agents to control and administer the territories through the mythical policy of "indirect rule." Two leading scholars of colonial Uganda, D.A. Low and R.C. Pratt, explained what in their view the policy meant:

African History, III, 3 (1962): 435–450; M. Twaddle, *Kakungulu: The Creation of Uganda, 1868–1928*. London: James Currey, 1993: 173–4.

[48] See Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1950; D. P. Ghai, "The Buganda Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political and Economic Nationalism," in R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui, eds., *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970: 755–770; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 300–21; G. F. Engholm and A. A. Mazrui, "Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda," *Government and Opposition*, 2, 4 (July–October, 1967): 587–8; Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly*. Part II. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 578; Uganda Government, *Uganda Parliamentary Debated (Hansard), 1962–1963*. Vol. I. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963: 154–5.

[49] See F.G. Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1964: 13; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 11.

> In contrast to any system of ‘direct rule’, either through British officers or through Africans appointed without reference to local traditional claims of authority, ‘indirect rule’ meant the appointment of traditional chiefs as agents of local rule, the use in local government of those men whom the people were accustomed to obey..... The form in which it was applied in any area depended on many variables, amongst the most important was the degree of centralized authority that existed in the tribal political system.... This use outside of Buganda of appointed chiefs rather than traditional local chiefs as the local administrative and judicial authorities is clearly a most important break from indirect rule pattern.[50]

However, as the Governor of Uganda, Sir Philip Mitchell (1935–1940), pointed out, indirect rule, as espoused by many colonial historians of Uganda, was never implemented anywhere in Uganda, not even in Buganda.[51] Kabaka Chua’s observation supported Mitchell’s informed view:

> [M]y present position is so precarious that I am no longer the Direct Ruler of my people, I am beginning to be considered by my own subjects as merely one of the British Government’s paid servants. This is solely due to the fact that I possess no real power over my people; even the smallest chieftainship is directly under the control of the Provincial or District Commissioner … Any order given whether by my local chiefs or by the Lukiko itself is always looked upon with contempt unless and until it is confirmed by the Provincial District Commissioner....[52]

The contention that the practice of “indirect rule” depended on the degree of centralization in a “tribal” political system was another academic fiction in the colonial historiography. The case of Buganda, as noted by both Mitchell and Kabaka Chua, supports this conclusion. Similarly, in one of the most highly centralized kingdoms in the country, Bunyoro-Kitara, legitimate traditional rulers such as Kabalega and Kitahimbwa were deposed by the regime and replaced with Baganda colonial administrators. This latter point, which applied to every other centralized pre-colonial state, turns on its head the traditional and popular academic fiction that "'indirect rule' meant the appointment of traditional chiefs as agents of local rule, the use in local government of men whom the people were accustomed to obey…"[53]

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[50] Low and Pratt, *Buganda and the British Overrule, 1900–1955*: 163,176. See also, N.U. Akapan, *Epitaph to Indirect Rule: A Discourse on Local Government in Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1967: 13–45; P. E. Mitchell, “Indirect Rule,” *Uganda Journal*, 5, 1 (July 1936): 101–107. Mitchell later declared that this policy only existed in theory. The primary objectives of “indirect rule” were to reduce the severe crisis of legitimacy of the regime and control the financial cost of administering the colonial state.

[51] P. E. Mitchell, “Native Administration: Note by the Governor, 1939,” cited in Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 339. See also, Kiwanuka, “Colonial Policies and Administration in Africa”: 299–303.

[52] Cited in Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 85–86.

The version of "indirect rule" that was practiced, as opposed to that espoused by scholars of the official mind of British imperialism, was intended to avoid making the colonial state a financial burden to the tax payers in Britain. This was achieved by paying local colonial employees from what they plundered during pacification campaigns and administration of the territories. The policy was also intended to make colonialism less unacceptable to the colonized by appointing colonial chiefs and local administrators from the colonial state. In this instance, Buganda became the recruiting ground for colonial chiefs and local administrators. The presence of "indigenous" colonial employees was also intended to divide the colonized and make it difficult for them to unite against the colonial state and the regime. All these objectives, except that which was intended to make colonialism less acceptable to the colonized, were achieved.

The resounding failure of the policy to make the colonial presence less acceptable was partly a result of the imposition of colonial employees from Buganda on other colonized subjects. The imposition of the Baganda colonial agents sustained the severe crisis of legitimacy of the colonial state. For example, G.N. Uzoigwe noted that:

> The policy to introduce Buganda chiefs in Bunyoro was as short-sighted – even if necessary – as it was ill-advised. As Banyoro saw it, since the eighteenth century the kings of Buganda and Banyoro Kitara (Bunyoro) had been struggling for leadership and supremacy in the lacustrine region. For nearly a century Buganda had gained the upper hand in this struggle. Under Kabarega, however, Kitara had shown a remarkable revival and was a positive threat to the power of Buganda.... Already his *abarusura* had beaten Buganda disastrously in 1886 ("Battle of Gangaho"); and by 1890 Kabalega was able to interfere in the civil war in Buganda. Indeed his abarusura was in occupation of Buganda for some months with Rwabudongo as a sort of Kalema's *Katikiro*, before they were driven out by the Christian forces....

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[53] See G.N. Uzoigwe, "The Kyanyangire, 1907: Passive Revolt Against British Overrule," in B.A. Ogot, ed., *War and Society in Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1972: 190.

> And now the protectorate government had come to the conclusion that a kingdom which had been governing itself for about six centuries and had, for most of that period, acquired a large empire was now incapable of self-government.[54]

The crisis of legitimacy, further generated by the imposition of Baganda colonial agents, created so much political instability and violence almost everywhere in the colonial state that the regime had to withdraw them at some point.[55]

Opposition to Baganda colonial administrators everywhere outside Buganda also resulted from the myths about Buganda's superiority—which were largely popularized by European explorers, European Christian missionaries and colonial agents, including Stanley, Speake and Grant, who claimed that Buganda "invited" Christian missionaries and that Bunyoro was one of the renegade provinces of Buganda—which, in turn, made Baganda colonial agents quite arrogant and brutal toward other nationalities in the country. [56] To be sure, the arrogance and brutality with which the Baganda colonial employees implemented colonial policies were not different from those of the European colonial administrators which were also based on myths about superiority. It is also important to note that opposition to Baganda colonial agents, even in Buganda, was opposition to the brutality and arrogance of colonialism itself. In any event, the behaviors of the Baganda agents turned other nationalities against Buganda.[57]

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[54] Ibid: 188.

[55] Ibid: 179–214.

[56] For the development of the myth about Buganda's superiority and the myth about Buganda's sub-imperialism, see, for example, Uzoigwe, Ibid: 188; M. Twaddle, "Ganda Receptivity to Change," *Journal of African History*, XV, 2 (1974): 303–315. For a work that perpetuated the myth about Buganda's sub-imperialism, see Roberts, "The Sub-imperialism of Buganda," *Journal of African History*, III, 3 (1962): 435–450.

[57] Burke, *Local Government in Uganda*: 35–36. See also, Roberts, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda": 435–450; Kiwanuka, "Colonial Policies and Administrators in Africa: The Myths and Contrasts,": 295–315; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 202–205, 251–254; Hailey, *Native Administration in British African Territories. Part 1, East Africa: Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1950: 27; Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900–1955*: 163–178; Twaddle, "Ganda Receptivity to Change": 303–315.

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Bunyoro

Bunyoro witnessed intense and widespread political violence in the first 36 years of the colonial presence (1891–1927). To begin with, in 1891 Bunyoro encountered the colonial presence for the first time when Lugard entered the territory to reenlist the Sudanese/Nubian troops. The troops had been abandoned by Emin Pasha near Lake Albert. Lugard's trip coincided with the conclusion of a successful military expedition by Bunyoro against Toro. During the expedition, King Kasagama of Toro was overthrown and subsequently replaced by Kabalega's appointees: Ireta and Rukara rwa Itegaraha. Lugard responded to Kabalega's victory by declaring war on Bunyoro. His decision to declare war was partly influenced by the need to prevent the destabilizing effects of Kabalega's campaigns from spilling over into the citadel of colonial power: Buganda. The anti-Bunyoro's image, which had been constructed and promoted largely by European imperial agents, including explorers and Christian missionaries, also influenced Lugard's act of political violence for deterrence. In the battle, which took place near the Kazinga channel and Lake Katwe, Lugard defeated Bunyoro's troops, and reinstated Kasagama to his throne on August 16, 1891. To protect Kasagama, Lugard deployed colonial troops (Sudanese troops) in the southern part of Bunyoro. The troops continued to do what they had done under Baker, Gordon and Pasha: terrorize and plunder the area for food and slaves, destroy villages and rape women.[58]

The political violence unleashed by the colonial troops in Bunyoro compelled Kabalega to appeal to Lugard for a negotiated settlement. However, Lugard, like Baker and Gordon, rejected Kabalega's peace offer.[59] The colonial troops then expanded their operations, plundered and caused so much instability that they threatened even Buganda. This wave of unrestrained political violence by the colonial troops prompted the missionaries to demand the immediate relocation of the troops from southern Bunyoro. The demand was also based on the fear the missionaries had that the troops could ally with their fellow Muslims in Buganda and overthrow the Christian hegemony. Accordingly, Major J.R.L. Macdonald, who succeeded Colonel G. Portal as the British Commissioner, disarmed and relocated the troops to Busoga in September 1893.[60]

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[58] See Macdonald, *Soldering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 296; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 6; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 23.

[59] A senior employee of the IBEAC, and later the Acting British Commissioner, Major J.R.L. Macdonald, made the following observation: "Since Lugard in the early days had refused Kabarega's proffered friendship, that dusky potent had been our inveterate enemy, and had practically cast off the alliance he owed to his suzerain, Mwanga…. Having regard to the development and prosperity of Uganda, I could see that in no distant date Kabarega's power must be broken and his prestige destroyed." See Macdonald, *Soldering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 296. See also, Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 23; Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 21; Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*. Vol. I. London: Frank Cass, 1968: 400.

The relocation of the troops provided Kabalega with the opportunity to recover and mobilize the *abarusura* to punish Kasagama for collaborating with the colonial regime. During the campaign, Kasagama and some of his followers became refugees near the Rwenzori mountains. The flight of Kasagama from his kingdom, however, did not persuade Kabalega to end the war. In fact, he escalated the war so much that Toro became extremely unstable. This development suggested to the colonial government the need to punish Kabalega, who had become a major threat to the imperial projects.[61]

The opportunity to punish Kabalega came when Colonel Colvile arrived in November 1893 as the British Commissioner. Upon his arrival, Colvile declared war on Bunyoro.[62] He then placed his troops under four commands. The first comprising thousands of well-armed troops was commanded by Major Owen. This group attacked Bunyoro from Bugangezi. The second group was commanded by Captain Thruston. The third force was under the command of Arthur. The fourth group was commanded directly by the British Commissioner, Colvile. This group was divided into two divisions: the headquarters division under the Commissioner's command and the Waganda division under the command of a Muganda Protestant, Semei Kakungulu. Colvile's division consisted of 8 Europeans, 450 Sudanese troops, 2 Maxims, 700 Baganda armed with guns and 1200

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[60] See Macdonald, *Soldering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 296–300.

[61] Macdonald, Ibid: 307–8. Macdonald declared that he intended to "overthrow Kabarega's force, drive him from his capital, do as much damage to his power as possible, and then return to Uganda [Buganda], after giving our enemy due notice that the raid would be repeated if necessary unless he made peace, received a British agent and escort at his capital, opened his country to trade, and gave us a free and secure passage to Lake Albert." See Ibid: 306.

[62] See, for example, A.D. Roberts, "The "Lost Counties" of Bunyoro," *Uganda Journal*, 25, 1 (March 1961): 194.

Baganda carrying spears. Kakungulu's division had 12,000 Baganda, of whom 3000 carried guns.[63]

During the campaign, thousands of Banyoro were killed and many more were violently uprooted. Under the direct order of the Commissioner, thousands of unarmed Banyoro were herded along during the campaign. Some of these "prisoners" of the war died while being herded from one concentration camp to another. The rest, as one of the senior colonial employees, J.R.L. Macdonald, reported, were kept in concentration camps, under the watchful eyes of the occupying army.[64] C.E. Welch, made the following observation about the objective of this type of pacification: "In seeking to contain a guerrilla insurrection, a government might unwittingly escalate it by regrouping the populace, alienating them by ripping them from the lands to which they have been historically and economically attached, and establishing resettlement sites (alternatively worded, concentration camps) …"[65] Despite this strategy and the fact that government troops greatly outnumbered Kabalega's and possessed much superior arms, anti-regime forces did not scale down their resistance. In fact, Kabalega adopted a guerrilla warfare that taxed government forces so much that Colvile responded by systematically deploying the scorched earth policy. The result was that many more Banyoro were intentionally exterminated, tens of thousands were deliberately and violently uprooted, thousands of women and girls were systematically raped, large numbers of cattle and goats were systematically seized, food stuff and crops were confiscated, whatever food stuff could not be pillaged was destroyed, villages were razed to the ground and water wells were intentionally destroyed in almost every part of Bunyoro.[66]

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[63] Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 312. According to Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda, 1890–1985*: 17; Colvile's division comprised some 16,135 Sudanese and Baganda. Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 89, suggested that a section of the troops sent against Kabalega consisted of "8 European officers, 2 maxim guns, one steel boat which was transported in sections, about 450 Sudanese troops and a vast number of Baganda rifle and spearmen variously estimated to be between 20 and 43 thousand strong." See also, Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 21–22.

[64] See Macdonald, *Soldering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 306–309. See also, A. R. Dunbar, "The British and Bunyoro Kitara, 1891–1899," *Uganda Journal*, 23, 1 (March 1959): 229–241; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda, 1890–1985*: 18; Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 16–22.

[65] C. E. Welch, "Warrior, Rebel, Guerrilla and Putschist," in A. A. Mazrui, ed., *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977: 89.

According to the statements the government made about the ensuing violence in Bunyoro, the military strategy and the magnitude of genocidal regime violence that accompanied it were aimed at achieving four related objectives.[67] First, starve Kabalega and his troops in the northeast of Bunyoro (Budongo forest). Secondly, destroy anti-regime challenge in Bunyoro. Thirdly, demonstrate to the colonized that the regime was determined to impose its imperial legitimacy, power, laws and order at any cost to the colonized. Fourthly, impress on the colonized that collaboration and loyalty were the only methods of survival in the new era. The last point was made abundantly clear when Colvile rewarded Buganda for its collaboration by handing over Bunyoro's territories ("lost counties") of Bunyala, Buruli, Rugonjo, Buwekula, Buyaga and Bugangadzi to Buganda.[68] A similar message was reechoed in 1894 when the regime rewarded Toro for its "collaboration" by handing to it Mwenge, Kyaka and Nyakibamba provinces of Bunyoro. These rewards or political bribery, like the war against Kabalega, were intended to address the severe crisis of legitimacy of the regime and the colonial state.[69]

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[66] Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 306–309; Dunbar, "The British and Bunyoro Kitara, 1891–1899": 229–241; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda:* 18; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 88–91; Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 16–22; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 70–1.

[67] See A.G. Boyle, the Sub-Commissioner's Office Jinja, to H.M. Acting Commissioner, Entebbe, Report, September 1, 1905. CO 536/3; Commissioner to Sub-Commissioner Jinja, Report, September 1, 1905. CO 536/3; L. H. Cubit, Acting Sub-Commissioner, to H. M. Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, Entebbe, Report, October 17, 1905. CO 536/3; Punitive Operations, Entebbe, 25 October, 1905. CO 536/3*;* Entebbe to H. M. Secretary for Colonies, Report, 27 July, 1905. CO 536/2; Uganda Protectorate, *Collective Punishment, No. 1 of 1909.* CO 648/1; Uganda Protectorate, The *Collective Punishment Amendment Ordinance, 1910, No. 17 of 1910.* CO 648/1; Uganda Protectorate, *No. 8 of 1920. An Ordinance Relating to the Prevention of Crime in Kigezi.* CO 684/2; Uganda Protectorate, *No. 7 of 1921. An Ordinance relating to Witchcraft.* CO 684/2; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 10; *Raids and Punitive Expeditions in the Kigezi District*, cited in Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 74; J. Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango: The Political History of an East African Stateless Society, c. 1800–1939.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978: 114; "H. H. J. Bell, Glimpses of a Governor's Life." Cited in D. A. Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919," in V. Harlow and E. M. Chilver, eds., *History of East Africa*. Vol. II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965: 60.

[68] See Dunbar, "The British and Bunyoro Kitara, 1891–1899": 229–241; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda:* 18.

The presumption justifying greater regime violence to deter its opponents, however, was a self-defeating fallacy: Bunyoro intensified anti-colonial resistance. For example, in 1894 and 1895, Kabalega and his subjects offered more determined and violent challenges to the colonial presence. To crush the challenge, the regime gave itself an open license to torture, rape, arrest, enslave, directly exterminate the Banyoro, destroy villages and crops, and to carry away cattle. The result was that many more Banyoro were injured, tortured and intentionally exterminated. A large number of Banyoro were also captured and taken to Buganda as slaves, and others were internally displaced. Those Banyoro who were lucky to escape sought refuge in Acoli and Lango. Although this terror caused enormous sufferings in Bunyoro, it did not break the spirit of anti-colonial resistance in Bunyoro. This suggested to the government that more regime terror was required to address the violent challenge to its project. Accordingly, it brought in reinforcement of some 6 companies of Sudanese with 2 Hotckiss and 3 Maxim guns, and 20,000 troops from Buganda.[70]

A combination of three factors eventually forced Kabalega to flee to Acoli and later to Lango: the protracted scorched earth policy; the overwhelming numerical strength and the military superiority of government troops; and shortage of arms and ammunition that Kabalega and his troops faced. Captain Teran was then dispatched to pursue Kabalega into Lango. He was accompanied by 120 Sudanese soldiers, 2 Hotchkiss guns, 1 Maxim gun and about 20,000 Baganda troops. He was joined by W. Grant, who arrived through Busoga, with some 1200 Baganda troops and a Maxim gun. The Muganda-Protestant general, Kakungulu, was also dispatched with thousands of troops to Lango. While in Lango, the regime confiscated over 1000 cattle to feed the troops. By 1897, some government troops from Buganda decided to demobilize and return home with their demobilization benefits: slaves, cattle and other livestock from Bunyoro and Lango. On April 9, 1899, Kabalega and Mwanga could no longer keep the Maxim and Hotchkiss guns at bay. Consequently, Lieutenant Colonel Evatt captured them at Oyom in Lango district. The two fugitive kings, who represented pre-colonial legitimacy and independence in their respective pre-colonial states, were immediately deported to Kismayu and later to Seychelles.[71]

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[69] See Dunbar, "The British and Bunyoro Kitara, 1891–1899": 229–241; Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 16–22; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 91.

[70] Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 22.

The wars, which led to the defeat and deportation of Kabalega, left Bunyoro in total ruins:

> At the end of the nineteenth century, Bunyoro was thus in very poor shape. The country was largely depopulated by war, famine, and disease. It was regarded as conquered territory, and its administration was for the most part in the hands of Ganda chiefs, who were sent to teach the Nyoro how to govern themselves. With their king captured and exiled, the country devastated, disease and famines on all sides, and their hereditary enemies the Ganda lording over them, Bunyoro's downfall was complete.[72]

The destruction of Bunyoro, therefore, made it possible for the regime to impose its imperial legitimacy, law and order in the area. This meant that the state became despotically and infrastructurally strong in Bunyoro. The infrastructural power of the state, like the stability of the state, rested on its ability to control the society through violence, coercion and intimidation. [73]

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Busoga

During the pre-colonial period, Busoga did not exist as a single political unit. The territory comprised many small states, each populated by a distinct cultural and linguistic group. Some of the states, including Baisengobi, for example, were formed by Luo immigrants from Bunyoro. Between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, most of these states were under

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[71] On April 9, 1899, government troops, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Evatt, killed 300 people in Oyom and captured 400 head of cattle. See Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 23, 26, 70; Dunbar, "The British and Bunyoro Kitara, 1891–1899,": 229–241; Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: 261–321. Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 174, noted the presence of slavery in Buganda during this period: "While forcible acquisition and purchase of slaves were clearly unacceptable under the terms of the Berlin and Brussels Acts, other forms of plunder were another matter..... Slavery also continued as an important indigenous institution in Buganda for at least a generation."

[72] Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*: 22.

[73] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 223; Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of The Legislative Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959: 159–73.

Bunyoro's sphere of influence. Later, when Buganda became the regional superpower, some of the states fell under Buganda's influence.[74]

Busoga was geo-politically important to the British empire builders for three reasons. First, it lay on the most important communication and trade route to the East African coast. Secondly, it was on the most direct route to the most attractive territory to the imperial power: Buganda. Thirdly, it was located at the source of the Nile. The strategic location and importance of Busoga made it the first territory in Uganda to be brought under the Union Jack. This took place on December 7, 1890, after Lugard terrorized and tricked one of the local leaders, Wakholi, to sign away the independence of his state. However, when the people understood the implications of what Wakholi had done, they declared the treaty invalid and murdered him. According to Mukherjee, A.F. Thurston, who was one of the treaty-makers for the British government in the region, noted how the treaties were made:

> I had a bundle of printed treaties which I was to make as many people sign as possible. This signing is an amiable farce, which is supposed to impose on foreign governments, and to be equivalent of an occupation. The modus operandi is somewhat as follows. A ragged, untidy European lands at a native village, the people run away; he shouts after them to come back, holding out a shilling's worth of beads. Someone, braver than the rest, at last comes up; he is given a string of beads, and is told that if the chief comes he will get a great many more. Cupidity is, in the end, stronger than fear; the chief comes up and receives his present, the so-called interpreter pretends to explain the treaty. The chief does not understand a word of it, but he looks pleased, as he receives another present of beads; a mark is made on the printed treaty by the chiefs, and another by the interpreter, the vagrant who professes to be the representative of a great empire, signs his name.[75]

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[74] Among others, see W. F. Nabwiso-Bulima, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga," *Uganda Journal*, 31, 1 (1967): 89–99; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 34–36, 69; L. A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970, especially: 1–45, 204–224; D.W. Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972: 154–170; D. A. Low, "Warbands and Ground-Level Imperialism in Uganda, 1870–1900," *Historical Studies*, XVI (1975): 592.

[75] Cited in Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 126–7. See also, H.B. Thomas, "More Early Treaties in Uganda, 1891–96," *Uganda Journal*, 13, 2 (September 1948): 173–182.

The following year, British military officers were sent to "pacify" and occupy Busoga. Two years later, W. Grant was dispatched to establish effective administration in the area. Through a combination of terror and negotiation, the Uganda-Usoga Agreement was signed on December 12, 1895. Thereafter, the colonial government embarked on creating a single political and administrative unit in Busoga. The objective of this policy was to make it cheaper and more effective to administer the area. This objective was achieved and Busoga, as an administrative unit, came into colonial existence.[76]

In 1906, the government sent Kakungulu to administer the area using what it popularly referred to as Buganda system of administration. During his tenure in Busoga, Kakungulu established the office of the President of the Busoga. This office was disbanded in 1913. In 1919 the office was revived, and a Musoga by the name of Wako became its President. Two decades later, the title of the office was changed to *Kyabazinga*. Throughout this period of colonial penetration, the regime attempted, by administrative fiat, to create a Busoga singular identity and consciousness. As a result, the various ethnic groups were baptized with one name: Basoga. This social engineering was based on three assumptions. First, that an ethnic group was not necessarily an ancestrally related unit. Secondly, that the people were not emotionally attached to their pre-colonial identity, customs and history. Thirdly, that non-European social formations were incompatible with imperial progress. The attempt to invent ethnicity, however, essentially failed because it rested on mistaken anthropological assumptions. That is, while the regime insisted on treating the people as Basoga and demanded that they refer to themselves by the colonial ethnic name, the people only did so in matters involving them and the regime. This meant that in non-official matters, the people continued to refer to themselves by their pre-colonial ethnic identities, such as Balamogi and Bagabala.[77]

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[76] Nabwiso-Bulima, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga": 89–99; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 34–36, 69; Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919,": 66–68; Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*: 1–45, 204–224; Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*: 154–170; Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*. Vol. 1: 368–370; Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in East Africa*: 76–77.

[77] See, for example, Nabwiso-Bulima, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga": 89–99; Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*: 1–45, 204–224; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 28–31. For similar

By and large, colonial penetration in Busoga produced comparatively limited political violence. A number of factors accounted for this unique development. First, the pre-colonial states in the area had become somewhat accustomed to being satellites of regional powers: Bunyoro and Buganda. Secondly, the terror that Lugard and Grant unleashed in the area and the news of the horror of the wars against Mwanga and Kabalega induced a general psychic state of fear that made resistance to colonialism appear futile and suicidal. In this instance, the evaluation of benefits and costs of anti-colonial violence was informed by the timing of effective colonization of the area and the observed experiences of those who resisted unsuccessfully. Thirdly, the prolonged contacts the Basoga had with the explorers, missionaries, traders and merchants that traveled along the East African highway introduced new values and perspectives which made the leap into the colonial era less threatening. Fourthly, the claim made by Buganda that Busoga was its satellite state, reinforced by the lack of a determined resistance to the imposition of colonial rule in the area, persuaded the government to adopt a less violent strategy toward the Basoga. Finally, the need to maintain security and stability at the source of the Nile and along the major East African highway called for restraint of regime violence.

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Eastern Uganda

Immediately after the defeat of Kabalega and Mwanga, general Kakungulu returned to Buganda. Upon his arrival, the colonial government appointed him to conquer and administer Bukedi (some undefined territories east and north of Lake Kyoga) and keep the mutinous Sudanese troops out of the area. To carry out his assignment, the government provided him with arms and ammunition. This meant that Kakungulu, like Lugard, Macdonald, Portal, Colvile, Thruston, Owen and Grant, was expected

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views in African studies, see, for a start, F. M. Stark, "Theories of Contemporary State Formation: a Reassessment," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 24, 2 (1986): 335–347; R. Fatton, "The State of African Studies and Studies of African State: The Theoretical Softness of the "Soft State,"" *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XXIV, 3–4 (1989): 170–187; Chabal, ed. *Political Domination in Africa*: 1–16. On some of the problems related to dominant theories of revolution, socialism and class contradictions, see, for example, E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, "Post-Marxism without Apologies," *New Left*, 66 (November/December, 1987): 79–106; A. Leftwich, "Is there a socialist path to socialism?," *Third World Quarterly*, 13, 1 (1992): 27–42.

to feed and pay the colonial troops under his command by raiding and plundering the area. However, unlike the European colonial administrators, he had to feed and pay himself through plunder as well.[78] It was, therefore, not surprising that the British Commissioner, H.H. Johnston, assured him on April 29, 1901 that, "[o]f the booty you will receive your share."[79] The rest of the plunder, as another European colonial administrator, William Grant, advised his superior, Jackson, in June 1901, following the seizure of thousands of cattle in the war Kagugulu waged against the Jopadhola, were expected to be sent immediately to higher authorities in the government.[80]

It is important to highlight a few points at the outset of this section. First, Kakungulu, like any other employee of the government or the "man on the spot," was given some freedom of action to do what was necessary to conquer and administer the territories.[81] Secondly, like any other colonial administrator, Kakungulu had to obtain clearance from his superiors before carrying out any punitive expedition.[82] Thirdly, by the time the British colonial rule was declared, Buganda had ceased to expand territorially.[83] This is an important point to note because some prominent colonial historians would later construct a theory of Buganda's sub-imperialism that is partly based on the misleading assumption that Buganda was still expanding when colonial rule was imposed on "Uganda." Such historians would then present the theory to conceal regime violence. Finally, Baganda colonial administrators or agents were employees of the colonial government, not employees of Buganda government. What the foregoing suggests, among other things, is that the dominant myth in the colonial historiography of Uganda about Buganda sub-imperialism is an alibi for colonial political violence and plunder in Uganda. It also suggests that the terror the Baganda colonial employees unleashed was regime terror.[84]

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[78] See Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 173; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 71; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 106; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 116–117.

[79] Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 161.

[80] Ibid: 168, 170, 173.

[81] Kakungulu was constantly reminded by the regime that he was an employee of the Protectorate Government. See Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 169–70, 179–180. Twaddle: 183, noted that Kakungulu was only paid some little salary towards the end of his administration in Bukedi.

[82] Ibid: 171.

[83] See Uzoigwe, cited in Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 188.

[84] For this myth, see Roberts, "The Sub-imperialism of the Baganda": 435–450.

By the time Kakungulu arrived in Kumi in 1899, the area was experiencing severe instability caused by cattle raiders from Lango. The first task Kakungulu embarked on was to pursue the raiders to Lango. While in Lango, he employed the type of scorched earth policy that had been employed by the British Commissioner, Colvile, in Bunyoro. The results were similar: thousands of Langi were intentionally exterminated, some were captured and taken as slaves, many more were internally displaced, thousands of cattle were seized, and villages and crops were destroyed. This unrestrained regime terror was intended to discourage the Langi from destabilizing the area. Unfortunately for Kakungulu, anti-regime violence intensified so much that the area became extremely unstable. This development persuaded a senior government officer, Major Delme-Radcliffe, to order Kakungulu back to the administrative headquarters at Kumi.[85]

In 1900, Kakungulu launched a major pacification campaign against Teso: "Terror reigned. Homesteads were burnt down; livestock was looted; and the country side was generally devastated. Hunger and starvation killed a large number of people."[86] After the pacification campaign, Kakungulu appointed some Baganda to administer the area. These policies of unrestrained terror and imposition of Baganda colonial agents to administer territories that had been "pacified" were consistent with what the government was doing throughout the country. Indeed, the government was so impressed by Kakungulu's accomplishments in the area that the Commissioner, Sir Harry Johnston, "appointed" him the Kabaka of Bukedi.[87]

In the same year, Kakungulu received an expanded mandate to extend colonial rule eastwards to the rest of Bukedi and Bugisu. As part of the mandate, he was instructed to collect taxes for the government. Accordingly, he conquered Bukedi and set up his headquarters at Budaka. As in Teso and Kumi, he did what the British colonial authorities were doing elsewhere in the country: he appointed Baganda colonial agents to administer the area. He then declared a war of conquest and pacification against the Bagishu. The Bagishu responded by adopting a guerrilla warfare that was particularly suited for the rugged, mountainous and heavily forested area of Mt. Elgon. In the encounter, many colonial troops were killed. Like Colvile in Bunyoro in 1893–1894, Kakungulu instructed colonial troops to herd thousands of the inhabitants into concentration camps. Cattle, goats and other food stuffs were also confiscated from the war zone. This war spilled over to a portion of Bukedi. In 1902, Kakungulu was temporarily retired from active service because of the growing conflict between him and some European administrators.[88]

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[85] See Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 160.

[86] Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 7.

[87] See, for example, Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 106; Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*: 117–120; Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919": 88–91; Roberts, "The Sub-imperialism of the Baganda,": 440; Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 159.

Immediately after he was retired, the government publicly blamed him and some of the Baganda chiefs for employing excessive political violence in the area. This was ironical because the government had not blamed the European employees, including several British Commissioners, for employing unrestrained violence in Bunyoro and Lango. Similarly, W.R. Walker, who had been extremely brutal and notorious in Jinja two years earlier, was neither blamed publicly nor retired from active service.[89] The point is, by assuming the role of a conflict manager and blaming the so-called Baganda sub-imperialists for colonial terror, the regime pretended that the terror was not a direct response to the severe crisis of legitimacy of the colonial state and colonialism. This strategy of blaming the mask rather than the face behind the mask also fueled anti-Baganda sentiment in the rest of the country. Admittedly, the strategy was part of the broader policy of divide and rule.[90]

Like the Baganda colonial administrators, the European administrators who took over from Kakungulu responded to the severe crisis of legitimacy by unleashing uninhibited terror in the region. A few examples will illustrate the point. In March 1905, some Gujarati-speaking Indian traders, who had come to Bugishu following the completion of the Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria in 1901, were murdered in Yao county (Bugishu) because the Bagishu perceived them as the forerunners of British imperialism.[91] Boyle, a colonial employee in the Sub-Commissioner's Office in Jinja, reported that the government responded to the incident by employing such intense collective political violence that the colonized in the areas abandoned active political resistance:

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[88] See H.M. Secretary of State for Colonies, Memorandum, 27 July 1905. CO536/2; Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 177–190; J. Gray, "Kakungulu in Bukedi," 27, 1, *Uganda Journal* (1963): 31–59.

[89] See Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 177.

[90] See Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: : 76; Gray, "Kakungulu in Bukedi": 31–59.

[91] See Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 187.

> Mr. Purvis of the CMS who lives with his wife 15 miles from Mbale informed me that the effect of the expedition on the surrounding tribes [*sic*] was instantaneous, many who formerly threatened the mission, now brought free food and gifts..... The expedition therefore not only removed a festering in close proximity to Mbale station but further had the effect of what in cricket parlance would be called "stopping a rot" among other tribes in the more outlying parts of the Bukedi District, and in a way did incalculable good.[92]

Similarly, following a series of anti-regime violence in Budama, the Commissioner ordered the Sub-Commissioner of Jinja, on September 1, 1905, to "proceed to the Budama country with the Jinja Company, 40 police, and the Maxim. Sermon the chiefs responsible for the raids and inflict a fine on them of 300 head of cattle."[93] On October 17, 1905, the Acting Sub-Commissioner, L.H. Cubitt, reported to the Commissioner the penalty he imposed on the Badama during one of the punitive operations: "I therefore gave Captain Ward instructions to send out the troops to fetch in cattle and destroy the huts and villages of hostile chiefs nearby."[94] A week later, Cubitt and the Commanding Officer, Ward, updated the Commissioner on other regime political violence in the area:

> The attitude assumed by the hostile sections of the tribe [*sic*] when the expedition approached their country precluded any hope of a peaceful surrender, and it became necessary to resort to force… The results are that the Budama lost about 70 men killed, between 300 and 400 head of cattle, and some 200 goats and sheep. Our only casualty was a policeman, slightly injured....A severe lesson has been taught the Budama, and, with the exception of two, all the chiefs have come and tended their submission. The operations have been completely successful and peace has been secured, at any rate for a time, in a very wild part of the Protectorate.[95]

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[92] See A.G. Boyle, Sub-Commissioner's Office Jinja, to H. M. Acting Commissioner, Memorandum, March 4, 1905. CO536/1.

[93] See The Commissioner, Entebbe, to Sub-Commissioner, Jinja, Memorandum, September 1, 1905. CO536/3.

[94] The Acting Sub-Commissioner, L. H. Cubitt, to H. M. Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, Memorandum October 17, 1905. CO536/3.

[95] Uganda Protectorate, Punitive Operations, Entebbe, 25 October, 1905. CO536/3. See also, Uganda Protectorate to H.M. Secretary for Colonies, Memorandum, 27 July 1905. CO536/2.

In 1909, the Governor, Sir Hesketh Bell, authorized two companies of the King's African Rifles (KAR) to carry out another campaign of political violence against the Bagishu. This was to punish "some of these wild tribes [*sic*] for the slaying of unarmed and peaceful traders, and nothing but the show of force will induce them to mend their ways."[96] The Assistant District Commissioner of Teso, F.H. Newman, also reported how he punished the Etesot:

> I proceeded to burn these villages. While doing this considerable numbers of armed natives suddenly rose out of scrub round about, shouting and advancing and in threatening manner, I therefore, ordered the police to fire.... This had the desired effect and we then returned to the camp. We then went on and destroyed five small villages.... They had declined to carry the 'Mzungu (European's) loads'... I consequently went out and destroyed both of their villages in the afternoon.[97]

A number of points should be noted. First, by using the troops it recruited from Buganda, the regime masked its terror by presenting the Baganda as the author of the unrestrained terror that had been unleashed against the colonized peoples of eastern Uganda. This provoked more resentment toward the mask, the Baganda, than toward the face behind the mask, British colonialism. Secondly, unrestrained terror was disguised and normalized against anti-colonial resisters in eastern Uganda because they were presented, in the imperial language, as rebellious, inferior, wild and uncivilized. In this instance, unrestrained regime violence was justified as a necessary means of imposing a normative order deemed superior and appropriate on the colonized. Thirdly, any challenge to the myths about the inherent superiority of white people over black people was itself a challenge to the imperial hegemony. This was so because colonialism could not retain the appearance of its legitimizing force without such myths. It was, therefore, not surprising that two villages were razed to the ground when the Etesot refused to carry "the Mzungu (European's) loads."[98] Finally, by the 1930s, the regime had employed "enough" terror to allow it impose its legitimacy, law and order in the region. This meant that the colonial state became despotically and infrastructurally strong in the area. The infrastructural power of the state rested on violence, extermination, humiliation, intimidation and coercion. It also meant that the stability of the colonial state depended on its coercive machinery of repression and violence.[99]

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[96] H.H.J. Bell, *Glimpses of a Governor's Life*, cited in Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919": 60.

[97] F.H. Newman, ADC, "Teso Tour 18.4.10 (E.A.)", cited in Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 76.

[98] Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*: 169, 179, noted how the Europeans insisted on their racial superiority.

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Toro

The centralized state of Toro was brought under colonial rule with comparatively limited overt regime violence. Two factors accounted for this unique development. First, Toro, under Mukama Kasagama, owed much of its survival to the colonial regime. Secondly, the horror of resistance that tore apart Bunyoro produced a demonstration effect that persuaded Toro to collaborate with the government. This collaboration led to the signing of the 1900 Toro Agreement. The Agreement, among other things, brought new territories, including Banyamwenge and Basongora, under the control of Toro. Although administratively these new territories became part of Toro, the inhabitants of the territories did not recognize the legitimacy of Toro and that of the colonial state. This meant that both the Toro kingdom and the colonial state could only control the annexed territories through repression, violence and manipulation.[100]

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Ankole

The pace and nature of colonial penetration into Ankole were partly influenced by the fact that the territory had become an important refuge for regime challengers from Baganda. These fugitives, as the regime referred to them, were able to operate from Ankole because the state had a very weak leadership. Since the regime was aware of the internal weakness of the Ankole monarchy, it attempted to bring the area under its control with limited regime violence. The magnitude of violence that was employed was also influenced by the absence of any serious challenge to the colonial presence. There was no serious challenge to the government because Ankole decided to avoid the tragedy that had befallen Bunyoro. The weakness of the monarchy and the decision to avoid becoming another

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[99] See Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919": 59–60.

[100] See Karugire, *A Political History*: 109.

Bunyoro, as such, persuaded Ankole to collaborate with the government. Like Buganda and Toro that were rewarded for their "collaboration" with the regime,[101] Ankole was rewarded with new territories, including Igara, Buhweji and Buzimba. The result was that by 1901, the Ankole kingdom had nearly doubled in size. Like in Toro, the violent incorporation of many nationalities into Ankole eroded the faltering legitimacy of the monarchy and the kingdom and challenged the legitimacy of the colonial state.[102]

This collaboration, however, was rudely interrupted in 1905 when the Acting Sub-Commissioner, Galt, was assassinated in the area. The government responded to the incident by demanding that two local chiefs, Gabriyelli and Isaka, hand over the murderers. When the chiefs failed to "produce" the murderers, they were arrested, detained, tried and deported from Uganda. In his letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Acting Commissioner, G. Wilson, reported how the matter was handled. This letter will be cited in detail because it highlights how one of the most important institutions of the colonial state, the judiciary, functioned:

> I have the honour to submit to your Lordship the report required by Article 25 of the Uganda Order in Council 1902 on my decision to deport the persons, Gabriyelli and Isaka who had been condemned to death by the Uganda High Court for instigating the murder of Acting Sub-Commissioner Galt in Ankole, and who have later been acquitted by the East Africa Court of Appeal at Mombasa. Colonel J. Hayes Sadler, C.B., who is intimate with all the circumstances, has readily agreed to receive them in his Protectorate at either Lamu or Kismayu… there is no division of opinion throughout the whole country respecting the need to remove the persons held to be still resting under suspicion of the crime of murder, and certainly guilty of the most grave dereliction when they were chiefs of Ankole.… [M]y decision to deport Gabriyelli and Isaka on the political grounds of their presence within the Protectorate being dangerous to peace and good order of the country....[103]

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[101] E. I. Steinhart, *Conflict and Collaboration: The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890–1907.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977, 256–257.

[102] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 109–110; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 27–33; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 174–175; Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894–1919": 73.

[103] The Acting Commissioner, G. Wilson, to the Secretary for Colonies, Memorandum, January 22, 1906. CO 536/5. See also, The Acting Commissioner, Wilson, to the Colonial Office, Telegram, January 4, 1906. CO 536/5.

The letter suggested that the verdicts of the courts were honored only if they served one of the cardinal objectives for which they were instituted: address the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state and the incumbents. It was, therefore, not surprising that the verdict of the East African Court of Appeal was disregarded because it failed to achieve this cardinal objective. Disregarding the verdicts of its courts, however, generated tension and threatened the smooth functioning of the colonial system. To eliminate the limited and occasional tensions between the regime and the judiciary, the colonial regime legalized almost every act of political violence against the colonized. This was done by enacting numerous laws such as the 1907 Removal of the Undesirables Ordinance; the November 1908 Deportation Ordinance; the 1909 Collective Punishment Ordinance; the 1920 Ordinance Relating to the Prevention of Crime in Kigezi; and the 1921 Ordinance Relating to Witchcraft.[104] These laws empowered the state to declare any political challenge to its legitimacy a criminal offense. To the colonized, however, the laws, like the courts that enforced them, were not perceived as legitimate because they were the products and instruments of an oppressive and illegitimate state. This meant that the institution of the judiciary, like the state and the incumbents, had a severe crisis of legitimacy in the eyes and minds of the colonized. It also meant that, while almost every act of regime violence became legitimate violence in the eyes of the incumbents, such acts were not legitimate in the eyes of the colonized.[105]

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[104] See, among others, Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance Enacted by the Acting Commissioner for the Protectorate, October 21, 1907, Entebbe. Ordinance No. 5 of 1907. Removal of Undesirable Natives.* CO 648/1; *Schedule Form of Order: The Uganda Removal of Undesirable Natives Ordinance, 1970.* CO 684/2; *An Ordinance Relating to the Removal of Undesirable Natives. Ordinance No. 2 of 1916.* Co 684/2; *An Ordinance Enacted by the Governor of the Uganda Protectorate, November 20, 1908, Entebbe. Deportation Ordinance, No. 15 of 1908.* CO 684/1; *Schedule Form of Order of Deportation. The Uganda Deportation Ordinance, 1908.* CO 684/2; *An Ordinance Relating to Deportation, No. 1 of 1916.* CO 684/2; *An Ordinance Enacted by the Governor of the Uganda Protectorate, January 1, 1909. Collective Punishment, No. 1 of 1909.* CO 648/1; *The Collective Punishment Amendment Ordinance, 1910. No. 17 of 1910.* CO 648/1; *An Ordinance Relating to the Prevention of Crime in Kigezi, NO. 8 of 1920.* CO 648/2; *An Ordinance Relating to Witchcraft, No. 7 of 1921.* CO 648/2.

[105] According to Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964: 156, force or violence is considered legitimate so far as it is either prescribed or permitted by the state. The underlying assumption is that the state and the incumbents are legitimate.

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Kigezi

The decentralized pre-colonial states of the present day Kigezi region comprised many nationalities: the Bakiga, Banyarwanda, Bahororo, Bahunde and Batwa. The timing of colonial penetration and the colonization of the area were influenced primarily by the violent and feverish rivalries for territories by the three European imperial powers in the region: the Belgians, Germans and the British. The rivalries were temporarily contained, following the Anglo-German-Belgian Agreement of 1911. This made it possible for the British to declare a Protectorate over the area in 1912.[106] As in other parts of the country, Baganda employees of the colonial government were appointed to administer the area. These local administrators, as the regime referred to them, operated under the direct supervision of European district and provincial officers.[107]

The Baganda colonial administrators began their work by imposing heavy taxation on the inhabitants of the territory, penalizing cross-border migrations and demanding slave labor.[108] As if these policies were not disruptive enough to the society, the administrators allied with the

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[106] See M. M. Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda*. London: Oxford University Press, 1957: 2–28; E. Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda", in R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui, eds., *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970: 258–336; F. S. Brazier, "The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917," *Uganda Journal*, 32, 1 (1968): 17–27; P. Mateke, "The Struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira, 1830–1920," *Uganda Journal*, 34, 1 (1970): 35–47; M. Rutanga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi under the Nyabingi Movement, 1910–1930," in M. Mamdani and J. Oloka-Onyango, eds., *Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions, Popular Movements and Constitutionalism*. Vienna and Kampala: JEP Series, 1994: 229.

[107] Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda": 258–336; Brazier, "The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917": 17–27; Mateke, "The Struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira, 1830–1920"; Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda*: 4–5; Rutanga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi under the Nyabingi Movement, 1910–1930": 248–9.

[108] In this study coercive and unpaid labor in a colonial setting is referred to as slave labor. This is consistent with the view of the colonial power, Britain, on forced labor. This view was aptly echoed by one of the most prominent British colonial administrators in Egypt, Lord Cromer. "Here, therefore, is the explanation of British views which M. de A … seeks. The answer to this question, what we mean by slavery? is that we reluctantly admit the necessity of compulsory labour in certain cases, and that we do not stigmatise as slavery such labour when, under all possible safeguards against the occurrence of abuses, it is employed for recognized and indispensable purposes of public utility. On the other hand, we regard the system, when employed for private profit, as wholly unjustifiable and synonymous with slavery." See the *Spectator*, February 1914, cited in K. Simon, *Slavery*. New York: Negro University Press, 1969: 174–175. According to the British government, therefore, forced labor for

Christian missionaries and declared war on African traditional religions. The result of this alliance was that members of indigenous religions such as Ryan-gombe, Mugasya, Kahukeiguru, Kazooba, Bitindangyezi, Esiriba and Biheeko Nyabingi were systematically persecuted and prosecuted. The crises generated by colonial policies were exacerbated by the widespread sexual promiscuity that the Baganda and European administrators practiced in the area. The sexual promiscuity fractured families and traditional norms, left many young women pregnant and led to the spread of venereal diseases in the area. The situation was further compounded by the constant confiscation of thousands of cattle and goats by the colonial government. As in other parts of the country, the colonized people of the area were also subjected to constant abuse, insults and humiliation.[109]

These grievances forced the colonized to try and regain their humanity and independence through armed violence. In order to fight against the regime, the colonized embraced the Nyabingi traditional religion, which had been used effectively in the revolt that began in 1910 in Uganda, Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi and Congo. The disparate nationalities also embraced the Nyabingi religion because for centuries, they had identified it with struggles against injustices, oppression and exploitation, and with conflict resolution. As in the past, and as one of its names suggests: Rutatiina Mirengo (one that does not fear any evil), Nyabingi assured the colonized of victory and liberation. It also promised, through its prophetesses and prophets, including Muhumusa and Ndochibiri, to protect the colonized against the evils of the Europeans, including their bullets. This promise was embraced because the African societies were filled with belief in mystical powers that could protect people against evils. Since the colonized were passionately religious, the promises Nyabingi made were passionately embraced. Once the promise had been embraced, the colonized declared war against colonialism and one of its pervasive ideologies, Christianity.[110]

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private profit was synonymous with slavery. The same system of coerced labor for government services, however, was not presented as slavery.

[109] Brazier, "The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917"; Mateke, "The Struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira, 1830–1920"; Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda": 258–336; Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda*: 149–158; Rutanga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi under the Nyabingi Movement, 1910–1930,": 256.

[110] Brazier, "The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917"; Mateke, "The Struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira, 1830–1920"; Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda*: 149–158; Rutanga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi under the Nyabingi Movement, 1910–1930": 236–258.

Two extracts of testimonies from some of the Prisoners of the War (POWs) throw more light on the objectives of the anti-regime violence. According to one of the prisoners: “The rebellion was an attempt by a section of residents of Nakishenyi to free themselves from European rule, and to restore former conditions of independence; and absence of obligations in the shape of Poll Tax and Labour.”[111] Another POW is reported to have testified that:

> Our chiefs told us ‘we see you are tired of work, we have made a plan to kill the Baganda and the Europeans, so that they may leave the country and we shall be independent as we were before. You will pay no more tax and we will serve Nyabingi who used to rule over before.’ When we heard what the chiefs said, we agreed, as we did not want to do any work.[112]

These testimonies, though extracted under force and recorded by the regime that was opposed to the resistance,[113] linked the war with the severe crisis of legitimacy of the colonial state and the colonial projects. In this instance, the colonized embraced political violence against the regime as liberation from the dehumanization of colonialism: taxation, slave labor and loss of independence. Political violence by non-state actors was also justified as a means of achieving the rights of the people to have their own normative order. Anti-regime violence was, therefore, not an indication of some presumed laziness, presumed inherent violence of the colonized or presumed romantic and reactionary struggles against the forces of modernization and economic development, as was often popularly suggested in the imperial, colonial and Christian missionary historiographies of Africa.[114]

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[111] Cited in Hopkins, “The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda”: 293

[112] Ibid: 293–294.

[113] T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodeshia, 1896–97: A Study in African Resistance*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967: x, correctly doubted the reliability of such information and echoed a view shared by this study: “It will be one of my arguments, for example, that official beliefs about African society were mostly ill founded and yet I am dependent upon material produced by these officials for my own reconstruction. Moreover a good deal of evidence comes, as one would expect, from spies, or from prisoners under interrogation, or from evidence given in preliminary examinations into charges of murder.”

[114] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*: 21–2, 72, 87, captured some of the feelings expressed by the colonized in Kigezi. The claim that resistances to colonial projects were reactionary struggles against the forces of modernization, education and economic development was presented quite forcefully by R.E. Robinson and J. Gallagher, “The Partition of Africa,” in

The regime responded to the violent challenge to its profound legitimation deficit by deploying a large number of well-armed troops and police in the area. As in Bunyoro, Teso and Bugishu, the colonial troops unleashed a programmed genocidal terror in Kigezi: villages were razed to the ground, crops were destroyed, thousands of livestock were confiscated, girls and women were systematically raped, many people were deliberately and systematically exterminated and many more were violently displaced.[115] A request by the Acting District Commissioner (ADC) of Kigezi District, Sullivan, to his superior in Entebbe in 1918, throws more light on how the regime handled the challenge to its legitimacy:

> I most strongly request that the seized 180 cattle, 512 sheep and goats be treated as a fine as the conduct of these people requires exemplary punishment, and they must be taught that they cannot treat government with contempt. In this connection I would point out that 1,000 goats and sheep are required monthly as food for troops in this district at a cost of Rs. 1500 per month …half measures are worse and useless [*sic*] when dealing with savages [*sic*] of this type.[116]

The request was granted because it was consistent with the Collective Punishment Ordinance, No. 1 of 1909. According to the Ordinance, the entire county or district could be destroyed or punished with impunity if any of its members who was suspected of supporting anti-regime activity in the area was not reported to the authority.[117] This law made it easier and legal for Captain Reid, for example, to burn down villages at Mwisi near Butobere.[118]

F. H. Hinsley, ed. *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. XI. London: Cambridge University Press, 1962: 593–640. The claim that resistance to colonial presence was an indication of laziness, ignorance and inherent violence of the colonized is found in most earlier works on resistances to colonialism. See, for a start, O. Stollowsky, "On the Background to the Rebellion in German East Africa in 1905–1906," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 21, 3 (1988): 677–696.

[115] See Rutanga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi under the Nyabingi Movement, 1910–1930": 249, 255.

[116] *Raids and Punitive Expeditions in the Kigezi District*, cited in Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 74. See also, Brazier, "The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917,": 20.

[117] See Uganda Protectorate, Collective *Punishment, No. 1 of 1909*. CO 648/1. See also, Uganda Protectorate, The *Collective Punishment Amendment Ordinance, 1910, No. 17 of 1910*. CO 648/1.

[118] Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 10.

As in Teso, Bugishu and Bunyoro, the regime attempted to explain the causes and persistence of political violence in the area in terms of the "abusive theory." According to this theory that protected the author and the primary benefactor of colonial violence, the colonized peoples of Kigezi were at war because of the abuses, arrogance, corruption and unpopularity of the Baganda administrators. This alibi of colonialism, therefore, suggested that the colonized were not opposed to colonialism but to the unsanctioned political violence of autonomous colonial agents: the Baganda agents. The solution to the crisis, therefore, was to replace the corrupt and abusive Baganda administrators with European administrators and locally appointed colonial chiefs. The measure that resulted from such an erroneous explanation, however, did not persuade the colonized to discontinue challenging the colonial projects. Indeed, war against the colonial presence escalated.[119]

This time, the government explained the ensuing anti-colonial violence in terms of the "savage theory," the "lazy savage theory" and the "witchcraft and conspiracy theory." According to the savage theory, the colonized were in arms because they were wild, backward, inherently violent and opposed to the civilizing and modernizing progress of colonization. The lazy savage theory, for its part, maintained that the colonized were rebelling because they were backward, wild, lacked work ethics and were too lazy to work. The conspiracy and witchcraft theory suggested that the uprising was a conspiracy by witch doctors who did not want to lose their primacy in the transition from the "dark age" to the new age of modernization and enlightenment. The conspiracy and witchcraft theory was based on the erroneous assumption that societies "without leaders," without a history and comprising many nationalities could not unite against colonialism without a conspiracy by some "deviant" characters using "deviant" ideology and networks of mobilization.[120]

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[119] See Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda": 293–4.

[120] See "Phillip's Report, June 1919," cited in Rutunga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi": 230; Y. Sebalijja, 1911, cited in Rutunga, Ibid; P. Ngorogoza, 1969, cited in Ibid; J. M. Rwampigi, 1980, cited in Ibid. A similar assumption influenced the contention that disparate nationalities needed charismatic leadership to mobilize resistance to colonial projects. It is, therefore, not surprising that the historiography on African resistance placed undue emphasis on the presence or absence of charismatic leadership. See, for a start, Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodeshia*: 9, 32–47, 87–8; "The Role of Ndebele and Shona Religious Authorities in the Rebellions of 1896 and 1897," in E. Stokes and R. Brown, eds., *The Zambesian Past: Studies in Central African History*. Manchester: Manchester University

The only way that the war against work, progress, development and civilization by the colonized could be ended, the regime seemed to reason, was to force the population to provide more slave labor and outlaw the "witch doctors" and "witchcraft." These invented explanations justified the imposition of the Criminal Law (Witchcraft) Ordinance of 1912. This law was reinforced in 1920 with the Ordinance Relating to the Prevention of Crime in Kigezi. This ordinance outlawed every local association, public and social assembly and consumption of beer in the area.[121] These repressive laws, however, failed to compensate for the profound legitimation deficit of the colonial state. The result was that the war escalated. This forced the regime to enact, among other legislations, the March 1921 Ordinance Relating to Witchcraft. This ordinance was to be read as one with the Criminal Law (Witchcraft) Ordinance.[122]

These draconian laws also made it unlawful for the colonized to practice their traditional religions. Equally important, the laws made it legal for the regime to destroy traditional religious shrines, holy huts, other places of worship and other religious objects. To guarantee the destruction of traditional religions, the government arrested and deported prophetesses and prophets, priests, diviners and dispensing medical doctors.[123] This terror was quite devastating on the colonized because, as one of the leading scholars of African traditional religions, J.S. Mbiti, pointed out, Africans did not know how to exist without their religions.[124]

Press, 1966: 94–136; "Connexions between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa. Part 1," *Journal of African History*, IX, 3 (1968): 437–453, especially: 447–453; J. Cobbing, "The Absent Priesthood: Another Look at the Rhodesian Risings of 1896–1897," *Journal of African History*, XVIII, I (1977): 61–84. D. N. Beach, "'Chimurenga': The Shona Risings of 1896–1897," *Journal of African History*, 20, 3 (1979): 395–420, suggested that resistance could take place without unity. G.C.K. Gwassa and J. Iliffe, eds. *Records of the Maji Maji Rising*. Part One. Historical Association of Tanzania Paper # 4. Dar es Salaam, East African Publishing House, 1967, demonstrated that a resistance did not require a conspiracy because mobilization of the oppressed often took place in the open.

[121] Uganda Protectorate, *No. 8 of 1920. An Ordinance Relating to the Prevention of Crime in Kigezi*. CO 684/2.

[122] Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda": 293–4; Uganda Protectorate, *No. 7 of 1921. An Ordinance relating to Witchcraft*. CO 684/2.

[123] See Rutunga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi under the Nyabingi Movement": 229–249; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 74.

[124] Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*: 2.

A number of points should be highlighted. First, by outlawing traditional religions and destroying religious objects and places of worship, the regime eroded the identity, cohesion, rights, obligations, histories, self-worth and the purpose of existence of the colonized. Secondly, the arrests and deportations of religious ministers and medical doctors deprived the society of its most important religious, political and social leaders. Their functions had included: spiritual and physical diagnosis; curing the sick; healing relations among members of the society; healing relations between the society and God, between the society and the spirits, between the society and divinities and between the society and ancestors; providing the link between the society and the cosmos; and providing supernatural guidance and understanding of events. Thirdly, by destroying traditional religions, the regime resolved to destroy the foundation upon which the indigenous concept and practice of legitimacy and group morality rested. Fourth, the programmed war against traditional religions in the Kigezi region meant that the colonized peoples of the area were deprived the opportunity which the Baganda converts, for example, had: to combine the traditional religions with either Christianity or Islam.[125]

The war against traditional religions and traditional concepts and practice of legitimacy continued. This time, the regime appealed to its allies, the Christian missionaries, to introduce new ideologies of power and legitimacy that conformed to the imperial concepts of power and legitimacy: Christianity and Christian education. It was not difficult for the government to make the appeal for two main reasons. First, both Christianity and European colonial rule could only overcome the profound legitimation deficit that confronted their projects by jointly introducing and imposing new ideologies of power and legitimacy. Secondly, the missionaries, like the British colonial administrators, were products of the pseudo-scientific racism and racial chauvinism of Europe. The world view of the Christian church about the colonized was, therefore, the same as that of the colonial state and regime.[126] Accordingly, the Christian missionaries accepted the appeal. Thus, M.M. Edel observed how the twin allies, colonialism and Christianity, complemented each other:

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[125] The roles of traditional prophetesses, prophets, priests, diviners and herbalists or dispensing medical doctors in traditional Africa are exhaustively discussed by Taylor, *The Primal Vision*: 137, 144–7, 150; E. I. Metuh, *African Religions in Western Conceptual Schemes: The Problems of Interpretation*. Ibadan: Pastoral Institute, 1985: 153; Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*: 201–202.

[126] Rutanga, "People's Anti-Colonial Struggles in Kigezi": 262–266. For a similar and informative discussion about the views the Christian missionaries had about African religions and peoples, see Taylor, *The Primal Vision*: 5; N. L. Erskine, *Decolonizing Theology: A Caribbean*

> Much more important was the effect of the comprehensive ban on religious practices, introduced as a consequence of the uprisings of the previous two decades. The whole cult of the Nyabingi spirits was deemed a subversive secret society; most of its practitioners were captured and taken as prisoners to Kampala; and many other religious practices dwindled to nothing. The spirit huts were destroyed, no one wore even ordinary charms, and Christianity flourished.[127]

Similarly, E. Hopkins concluded that: "The sudden dislocation of the cult [*sic*] from its enduring role as a vehicle for political protest marked the end of coordinated opposition to British rule in Kigezi. No further effort was made to challenge the presence of Europeans; rather, local political energies, confirming the premise of European occupation, were channeled into manipulation of and movement within the system itself."[128] This victory finally brought overt anti-colonial violence to an end in the Kigezi region in the 1930s.

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Northern Uganda

The timing of colonial penetration into the decentralized democracies of northern Uganda was determined in large measure by the capture of Khartoum by the Madhists in 1885, the Fashoda crisis of 1896–1898 and the war against Bunyoro-Kitara in 1891–1899. The Fashoda crisis, for example, escalated in 1896 when the French military expedition attempted to gain a foothold on the Nile. In September 1898, the crisis pushed the British and the French to the brink of war. In the ensuing crisis, Major Macdonald traveled through what later became northern Uganda to rescue Kitchener. While in northern Uganda, he "signed" treaties with some of the states in the area. In March 1899, the Anglo-French agreement brought the crisis to an end. Although the crisis was resolved, the

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Perspective. New York: Orbis, 1981: 6; Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*: 7–8; O. p'Bitek, *African Religions in Western Scholarship*. Kampala: Uganda Literature Bureau, 1980, especially, 1–8, 52–69.

[127] Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda*: 5. See also, Ibid: 157–158; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: : 74.

[128] Hopkins, "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda" 132.

rivalries among imperial powers in the region persuaded the British government to secure and maintain a visible presence in northern Uganda.[129]

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Lango

Immediately after the Mahdists captured Khartoum in 1885, rumors began to circulate that they were planning to ally with the Langi against the British interests in Uganda.[130] The image of the Langi as opponents of the British interests was reinforced by the active participation of the Langi in Kabalega's army, the *Abarasura*. This image was reinforced despite the fact that many nationalities, including the Baganda, Acoli, Alur, Madi, Sudanese and Banyoro, participated in Kabalega's army.[131]

In 1894, Delme-Radcliffe was dispatched with well-armed troops to stop the Langi from supporting Kabalega.[132] While in Lango, the troops unleashed terror and plundered the area.[133] Regime violence against the Langi was exacerbated by other colonial policies: taxation, slave labor, forced evacuations and relocation of the population to concentration camps, compulsory cotton cultivation, anti-cattle rustling and the imposition of Baganda administrators. The imposition of anti-cattle rustling policy, for example, was quite contradictory because, while the regime prevented the Langi from raiding their neighbors for cattle, the regime was busy raiding Lango and other territories for livestock and other provisions. [134] Those Langi who did not obey the policies risked execution. Tosh, for example, presented a testimony which was representative of how those who disobeyed the policies were treated:

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[129] See J. P. Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919," *Uganda Journal*, 29, 1 (1965): 27–43; Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*: 110–111. The Fashoda crisis is discussed at length by R. G. Brown, *Fashoda Reconsidered: The Impact of Domestic Politics on French Policy in Africa, 1893–1898.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970; P. Wright, *Conflict on the Nile: The Fashoda Incident of 1898.* London: Heinemann, 1972; Robinson and Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians*: 346–359, 346–359; C. M. Andrew and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, "Gabriel Hanotaux, The Colonial Party and the Fashoda Strategy," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, III, 1 (October 1974): 55–95.

[130] See *Uganda Protectorate, No. 4 of 1932: An Ordinance to make necessary provision on the Transfer of the Lango District from Eastern Province to the Northern Province.* CO 684/4. H. B. Thomas, "More Early Treaties in Uganda, 1891–96," *Uganda Journal*, 13, 2 (September 1948): 174, observed that the regime signed a treaty with a certain Acoli chief, Abura, in 1896 to look out for any southward movement of the Mahdists.

[131] See Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 1–2. Many works on Lango, including Tarantino, "Lango Wars;" and Ingham, "British Administration in Lango District", presented the Langi in this light.

[132] See Punitive Expedition, 1905. CO 536/1.

[133] See Punitive Expedition, 1905. CO 536/1; Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*: 114; Bell, H.M. Commissioner, 13.8.1906, cited in Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 72.

> While Kakungulu was here, if you were caught doing something wrong, your ears or your lips were cut off, or the ear and eye on the opposite sides of the face were cut off. That is how Kakungulu behaved. Sometimes four poles were struck in the ground and you were tied onto them; then they lit a fire underneath and dried you as a wild animal is dried out.[135]

A report by the government in June 1907 threw more light on how it dealt with the Langi in general: that in the process of enforcing some of its policies and pacifying the area, it destroyed 163 villages, injured some 2000 and killed some 20,000–30,000 Langi.[136] However, these persistent waves of regime terror intensified anti-regime violence in the area. For example, it was reported that in May 1895, 150 Baganda colonial employees were ambushed and killed. In April 1907, a leading Muganda administrator, Bumbakali Kamya, and 16 other Baganda were murdered. The Baganda were chosen as a target for elimination by the Langi because they were the most visible and vulnerable symbols of the colonial terror.[137]

After employing more terror in the area, the government finally established its rule in Lango. To facilitate the administration of the area, Lango was divided into two districts: west and east. The former was administered directly by European officers because of its close ties with Bunyoro. This unit experienced a high level of stability because the Langi were aware of the resolve and the capacity of the European officers to crush any anti-

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[134] Some scholars claim that concentration camps, in their modern forms, were invented by the British for use against the Boers during the 1899–1902 Anglo-Boer war in South Africa. Yet, concentration camps had been used by the British in Bunyoro-Kitara as early as 1893. For discussions about the Anglo-Boer war, see, for example, A. Atmore and S. Marks, "The Imperial Factor in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Reassessment," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, III, 1 (October 1974): 105–139; G. H. L. Le May, *British Supremacy in South Africa, 1899–1907.* Oxford: Carendon Press, 1965: 1–93.

[135] Cited in Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*: 119. See also, *Ibid*: 125; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 268.

[136] Cited in Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*: 121.

[137] Ibid:

regime activity in the area. The latter district was administered exclusively by Baganda officers. This area was quite unstable because the Langi were less intimidated by the coercive potential of the Baganda. Political instability in the district resulted also from the decision by Baganda colonial employees and troops to get their demobilization benefits by plundering as much of the area as possible. The instability, among other administrative considerations, forced the government to amalgamate the two districts in 1911. This measure, however, generated instability and rivalries between the former two districts. This wave of instability stemmed from the socio-economic disparities between the segments of the new district. These problems were only contained after the deployment of KAR near major administrative centers in the district. By 1914, Lango had come under effective colonial rule.[138]

Political Penetration and Political Violence in West Nile

The West Nile region comprised diverse nationalities including the Madi, Lugbara, Alur, Kakwa, Jo Nam, Lendu and Okebu. Before the establishment of colonial rule in the area, the territory had been ravaged by the slave and ivory raiders. This was followed by the harrowing and traumatic effects of the numerous boundaries demarcations.[139] When colonial rule was extended to the area, it was accomplished through political terror. How the inhabitants of the area responded to this terror depended on a host of factors: geographical and topographical location, news of the encounter between the regime and a neighboring state, the timing of the imposition of colonial rule, perceived costs and benefits of resistance and perceived coercive potential of the regime.

In Madi, for example, people adopted a policy of indirect violence: challenging the power and authority of the regime by refusing to provide slave labor and pay taxes. They adopted an indirect policy because of the earlier humiliating defeat they had suffered at the hand of the government. The people of Madi also adopted a strategy of ignoring the colonial state and its institutions by avoiding and/or fleeing from them. The regime responded by issuing orders to colonial troops to shoot anybody who was caught fleeing from the agents of terror and domination: colonial agents and administrators. The troops were also authorized to burn down villages and crops, and confiscate livestock. In the end, anti-colonial resistance through flight and avoidance of the colonial presence ended.[140]

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[138] Ibid: 116; Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919": 27–36, 38.

[139] See Stigand, *Equatorial: The Lado Enclave*: 1–13; Uganda Protectorate to H.M. Secretary for Colonies, Memorandum, The Move of the Natives from this side of the Nile (Nile Province) to Congolese Territory, 2/8/1905. CO 536/2; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 56–67; Hemphil, "The British Sphere, 1884–94": 391; Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919": 29, 39–40.

In Lugbaraland, on the other hand, the colonized challenged the legitimacy of the government by declaring a holy war. The transcendent validation of the war was communicated through Prophet Rembe and the Yakan Cult. Rembe then summoned the Lugbara to rise against colonial oppression and exploitation. Before the war began, Rembe directed the people to be cleansed by "holy water." According to the prophet, the water would also protect them against the evils of colonialism, including bullets from government guns. However, when the war broke out, the Lugbara, like the people of Kigezi, found out that the traditional religious medicine was far less powerful than the evils of European colonialism. The result was that many Lugbara were killed, many more were violently uprooted, villages were razed to the ground, girls and women were raped and crops were destroyed. The humiliating defeat that the Lugbara suffered convinced the survivors of the genocidal war to reluctantly submit to the colonial presence. In this instance, although the Lugbara, like the rest of the colonized, did not believe that the regime was legitimate, they decided to work with it to protect their most fundamental human need: staying alive. This development allowed the government to violently impose its stability and to monopolize the lucrative ivory trade in the area.[141]

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Acoli

Before colonial rule was established in Acoli, bands of marauding slavers and ivory dealers pillaged the area. Thus, one of the colonial administrators and colonial historians, R.M. Bere, observed that: "The next ten years

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[140] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 155.

[141] J. Middleton, "Political Incorporation Among the Lugbara of Uganda," in R. Cohen and J. Middleton, eds., *From Tribe to Nation in Africa*. Scranton, Pennsylvania: 1970: 55–70; Middleton, "Colonial Rule Among the Lugbara," in V. Turner, ed., *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960*: 6–48; A. Southall, "Ethnic Incorporation among the Alur," in R. Cohen and J. Middleton, eds., *From Tribe to Nation in Africa*: 71–92; Uganda Protectorate, A Few Punitive Measures, 4/11/1912. CO 536/53; R.O. Colins, "Ivory Poaching in the Lado Enclave," *Uganda Journal*, 23, 2 (September 1960): 217–228.

(1888–1898) were a bleak period in the history of Acholi. Momentous events were taking place in other parts of the Protectorate but the Acholi were left much to their devices and the ravages of Emin Pasha's Sudanese soldiers the remnants of whom were roaming the country as a band of robbers."[142] In 1898, Omukama Kabalega fled to Acoli with some 300 of his troops. He was warmly received at Alokolum by Rwot Awich. During this period, some of the mutinous Nubian/Sudanese troops also sought refuge in the area. The presence of Kabalega and the Nubian troops forced the government to dispatch the Commander of the Juba Expedition, Major Macdonald, to Acoli. The primary objective of the mission was to dislodge the "fugitives" from the area. However, by the time Macdonald arrived in Acoli, the "fugitives" had relocated to Lango.[143]

Immediately after Macdonald arrived, he burnt down villages and crops, and confiscated many livestock. He also instructed his troops to roam and terrorize the area. In the eyes of the Acoli, unrestrained regime terror was intended to punish them for having provided refuge and asylum to "the fugitives." The Acoli were also convinced that the terror was intended to induce collaboration with the new order. To some extent, the terror tactic worked: some Acoli states, including Chua and Padibe, for example, "signed" the standard treaty forms of collaboration with the Juba Expedition.[144] The majority of Acoli states, including Payira, however, decided to declare war against colonialism. These states were easily defeated because of the overwhelming military might of the government and lack of unity among the independent Acoli states.[145] In fact, even those states, including Palaro and Lamogi, that attempted to be neutral were violently crushed by Colonel Martyr and his troops. What states such as Palaro and Lamogi did not understand was that the European colonial presence believed that the colonized belonged to two rigidly defined categories: “collaborators” and “resisters.” Since these states had not collaborated, they were, therefore, treated as resisters.[146]

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[142] R. M. Bere, "Awich – A Biographical Note and a Chapter of Acholi History," *Uganda Journal*, 10, 1 (March 1946): 77.

[143] See Garling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 150; Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History," Supplement to the *Uganda Journal*, 10, 2 (1946): 6–7.

[144] See, for example, Garling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 150; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 126–7; H. B. Thomas, "More Early Treaties in Uganda, 1891–96," *Uganda Journal*, 13, 2 (September 1948): 173–182.

[145] Bere, "Awich – A Biographical Note,": 77; "An Outline of Acholi History,": 7.

This terror, however, turned these non-aligned states against the regime. In 1899, the government sent Major Delme-Radcliffe from the Collectorate (provincial administrative center) at Nimule to put down armed resistance and establish effective rule in the area. Delme-Radcliffe—who was popularly known in Acoli as *Langa-Langa*, meaning a bulldozer that destroys anything, good or bad, young or old, visible or invisible, by day or by night, in its path—employed unrestrained political violence in the area. However, regime terror secured only a tiny portion of Acoliland.[147] Delme-Radcliffe’s failure to bring the entire area under effective colonial rule was due to the fact that very few Acoli were “willing” to risk collaborating with the regime. For example, Bere observed that when the brother of Rwot Awich, Lakarakak, paid a friendly visit to Delme-Radcliffe in November 1899, his people drove him out of Payira for collaborating with the regime.[148]

In 1901, Rwot Awich—who had engaged the regime in running battles in many parts of Acoli, including Kweyo, Goma, Lukung and Pajok since 1898—was finally captured and deported from Acoli.[149] According to F.K. Girling, this incident demonstrated the superior power of the British Government and the futility of further resistance.[150] This military victory, however, did not bring about stability and security in Acoli. This time the major source of insecurity and instability stemmed from the activities of slave and ivory raiders. For example, on March 27, 1905, C.W. Guy Eden reported to the Acting Commissioner of the Protectorate that “10 companies of Abyssinians pillaged 5 large villages of Dodnga tribe [*sic*]; carrying off women, cattle, sheep and goats.” This raid took place in Padibe, Nimule District of the Nile Province (Northern Uganda).[151] The insecurity prompted the government to deploy the Northern Garrison force to end the slave raids. The Garrison force was also required to control and monopolize the lucrative ivory trade and pacify the area partly by controlling the circulation of guns in the area.[152] The result was that the raids came to an end and by 1910, the colonial government established a more effective administration. In the same year, the government amalgamated the independent political Acoli states into one administrative unit, Gulu District.[153]

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[146] Garling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 151; Bere, “Awich – A Biographical Note”: 77; “An Outline of Acholi History”: 7.

[147] Bere, “An Outline of Acholi History”: 77. The terror that “Langa-Langa” unleashed in Acoli is recorded in Acoli war songs, *otole*.

[148] Bere, “Awich – A Biographical Note” : 77–8.

[149] Bere, Ibid: 77–8.

[150] Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 151.

[151] C.W. Guy Eden to H.M. Acting Commissioner, Memorandum, 27 March, 1905. CO 536/1.

The next task was to control the circulation of guns in the area. To achieve this objective, the government ordered the people to surrender their guns to the administration. This policy provoked serious opposition because the Acoli had valued guns to protect their society against outside threats such as those presented by the ivory and slave raiders and the regime. Accordingly, many Acoli defied the order. The area that put up the longest and most determined opposition to the gun policy was Lamogi. This opposition, compounded by opposition to slave labor in the region, led to the Lamogi rebellion of 1911–12. The rebellion, however, like other anti-colonial resistances in the area during this period, was massively weakened by the sleeping sickness that ravaged the area, killing many people and violently uprooting many more in 1910. Many more people were also relocated on the eve of the rebellion by the government to “contain” the plague that conspired with colonialism against the Acoli. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Lamogi rebellion was crushed in 1912. As a result of this military victory, the government collected over 5000 guns from Acoliland in 1913.[154] The following year, the Acting Governor, H.R. Wallis, declared that Gulu District was no longer a “Closed District.”[155]

In the same year, the government attempted to improve the administration of the area by dividing Acoli into two districts: Gulu (west Acoli) and Chua (east Acoli). Next, it appointed colonial chiefs, imposed taxation and demanded slave labor. These administrative measures led to widespread anti-regime violence: colonial chiefs were attacked, many administrative buildings were destroyed and people refused to pay taxes and provide slave labor. For instance, one of the colonial chiefs in Gulu, Okello Mwaka, was killed for collaborating with the government. This incident forced the government to expand its collective punishment policy in the area. When the people in the area "failed" to hand over the suspects, colonial administrators picked four detainees and herded thousands of people to witness the execution of the four "murderers." This public execution was intended to "persuade" the Acoli to stop challenging the legitimacy of the colonial state.[156]

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[152] Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 131.

[153] See p’Bitek, *African Religions in Western Scholarship*: 12.

[154] See A. B. Adimola, “The Ramogi Rebellion of 1911–1912,” *Uganda Journal*, 18 (1954): 166–177; Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*: 82–124; Barber, “The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919,”: 27–43; R.M. Bere, “An outline of Acholi History,” *Uganda Journal* (Supplement to vol. 10, 2), n.d: 8.

[155] See a motion introduced in parliament by Okello on Monday, March 25, 1963: “Resettlement of the East Bank of the Nile,” in Uganda Government, *Uganda Parliamentary Debates* (*Hansard*). First Session, 1962–3. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963: 179; Uganda Protectorate, *The Uganda Official Gazette, No. 344 of 1914*; Uganda Protectorate, The *Uganda Outlying Districts Ordinance, 1904 and the Uganda Outlying Ordinance, 1908. Signed on 28th July, 1914 by Acting Governor, H.R. Wallis.* CO 612/4.

The violence that accompanied the imposition of colonial policies in the area, however, turned some colonial chiefs against the regime. For example, in 1927, the chief of Patiko refused to implement the colonial policy of providing coerced and unpaid labor. He was promptly dismissed and severely punished. Similarly, when the chief of Pajule told the District Commissioner of Chua, and later the Acting Commissioner of the Protectorate, J.R.P. Postlethwaite (popularly known in Kitgum as *Rwot Gweno*; meaning, the administrator who violently seized chicken from people),[157] that he could not implement labor and taxation policies in the area because they dehumanized his people, he was arrested. Postlethwaite then herded hundreds of people in Kitgum to a public ground to witness how the regime treated its challengers. The next thing Postlethwaite did was to lower the rebellious chief, with his head down, into a pit latrine until he died. However, instead of inducing compliance, such acts of terror escalated anti-regime violence in Chua. Indeed, the wave of anti-regime resistance this incident provoked resembled those of 1917, when almost every visible sign of British colonialism in the area was destroyed. This anti-regime violence, in turn, provoked more intense counter-regime violence. In the end, might was right: Acoliland submitted to effective colonial rule.[158]

Once it had consolidated its rule in Acoli, the government embarked on a policy of inventing an ethnic group and "creating" ethnic consciousness among the Acoli. This was done by amalgamating the two Acoli districts in 1937.[159] However, the project of inventing an ethnic group worked only on paper. This was so because the amalgamation generated enormous tensions, conflicts and rivalries among the national groups lumped under a single colonial district.[160] Ironically, what the colonial regime did not achieve through its deliberate policy of inventing an ethnic group and promoting ethnic consciousness it almost achieved it through its labor policy which was so unpopular that it temporarily united the people in the region against it.[161]

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[156] See Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda:* 84–5; Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919": 27–43; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 116.

[157] Mzee J. Tolit, trader, 65 years, interview by author, Kitgum, July 2, 1983.

[158] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 116.

Colonial Penetration and Political Violence in Karamoja

Karamoja is a semi-arid territory, inhabited largely by pastoralists. The major groups, known as the Karamojong, comprise the Mathenkito, Bokora, Pokot, Pian, Dodoth, Jie, and Labwor.[162] Before the colonial era, this area had been ravaged by gun-ivory-slave-cattle raiders and traders. The area had also experienced severe and recurring droughts, famines and cattle diseases. In 1911, the government decided to extend its military presence to the area. This was intended to control the raiders from destabilizing the area under the white settlers in the Eastern and Rudolf Provinces of Uganda. The decision was prompted also by the need to control and monopolize the lucrative ivory trade. In that year, the Northern Patrol of the KAR, under the command of Captain Tufrell, was sent to "pacify" the area and establish a military administrative outpost at Koputh. Tufrell began his assignment by appointing colonial chiefs to assist the military administration of the Closed District. The chiefs were required to mobilize free food and coerced and unpaid labor for the administration.[163]

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[159] See Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History,": 7–8. Bere, a colonial administrator who became one of the most prominent colonial historians of Acoli, did not understand the meaning of the proverb he cited. In fact, the proverb has absolutely no relevance to the point he labored to put forward.

[160] See, for example, Mukherejee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 73–76; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 176.

[161] See, for example, Okot P'Bitek, *Horn of My Love*, cited in Ocaya-Lakidi, "Manhood, Warriorhood and Sex in East Africa": 155; Ludolo, evangelist from Kitgum, 76 years, interview by author, Oxford, December 15, 1995.

[162] See C. Ochan, "Pastoral Crisis and Social Change in Karamoja," in Mamdani and Oloka-Onyango, eds., *Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions*: 97–100.

[163] See for example, J.P. Barber, "The Karamoja District of Uganda: A Pastoral People under Colonial Rule," *Journal of African History*, III, 1 (1962): 111–124.

In 1921, Captain C. Roberts of the KAR-Turkana Patrol was replaced by B.A. Warner and G.H.M. Lamb.[164] The new administrators were instructed to put in place a rudimentary civil administration in the area. As in other parts of the country, the administration was expected to generate enough revenue to administer the territory. Accordingly, it levied taxes, demanded slave labor and confiscated livestock. It also prohibited pastoral migrations on the grounds that they were primitive and encouraged political and economic instability in the territory. Ironically, these migrations, which had been based on traditional knowledge of the environment and traditional environmental management systems, had promoted sustainable economic and environmental activities in the area for centuries.[165]

The imposition of these policies sparked off anti-regime violence. The first targets of this violence were those who had been assigned the task of implementing the policies: colonial chiefs. For instance, in 1923, the people of Nabilatuk (South Karamoja) assassinated one of the colonial chiefs, Achia, for trying to implement the policies. The government responded to the challenge to its legitimacy by employing collective terror or collective punishment: cattle were seized, settlements were destroyed, adult members of the area were fined and many people were detained. This terror was partly intended to force the regime challengers to hand over those who had murdered Achia. When the murderers were not identified, the colonial administrators randomly picked three detainees. J.P. Barber reported what happened next:

> On the 14 February 1924, the three murderers were hanged at Nabilatuk before a silent gathering of the inhabitants ringed around by a K.A.R. detachment. The execution had a profound effect on the Karamojong. Achuka, the present county chief, vividly remembers the details of that day, while Webber recorded that: ‘The execution went off most satisfactorily before a large number of people, all of whom were deeply impressed.’[166]

The use of unrestrained political terror gradually induced enough fear and discouraged the Karamojong from openly challenging the legitimacy of the state and the incumbents. This allowed the government to impose its version of colonial stability in the area. Despite this development, Karamoja remained a Closed District almost throughout the colonial era.

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[164] See Barber, Ibid: 111–124.

[165] See Barber, Ibid: 111–124.

[166] Ibid: 118.

This policy did not only insulate the area from whatever colonial progress the regime claimed to have introduced in the country, it also alienated it from the rest of the colonial state of which it was a part. Such a policy ultimately inhibited the emergence of a viable colonial state.[167]

Ethnic Conflicts and Fragmentation of the Colonial State

This study adopts the definition of ethnic group that largely emphasizes the primordial nature of ethnicity: real and/or invented common descent, custom, language, religion, history and feeling of cohesiveness. The definition provides very limited space for mutability of ethnic boundaries.[168] According to this definition, an ethnic group is not, by and large, a situational, voluntary, pragmatic and functional association with an ever changing boundary in the service of economic interests.[169] What may seem to some scholars as the situational nature of ethnicity, at least in the context of the violent political terrain in Uganda, is the co-existence of multiple ethnic identities, co-existence of ethnicity with other forms of identity such as regionalism, class, religion and political affiliations. In fact, it is not uncommon for these forms of identity to overlap from time to time. It is also not uncommon for one of the identities to be elevated above other forms depending on a specific moment.

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[167] Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 47; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda, 1900–1986*: 5, 271–272, 345–346; Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898–1919,": 32–33; R. Baker, "'Development' and the pastoral people of Karamoja, North-Eastern Uganda. An example of the treatment of symptoms," in T. Monod, ed., *Pastoralism in Tropical Africa*. London, Ibadan, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1975: 201.

[168] For a similar view, see C. Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States*. New York: The Free Press, 1963: 107–112; W. Connor, "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a …," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1, 4 (October 1978): 450; W. Isajiw, "Definition of Ethnicity," *Ethnicity*, 1 (July 1974): 111–123; M. Sithole, "The Salience of Ethnicity in African Politics: the Case of Zimbabwe," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XX, 3–4 (1985): 181–192.

[169] One of the proponents of the situational nature of ethnicity, A.C. Paranjpe, "Ethnic Identities and Prejudices: Perspectives from the Third World," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XX, 3–4 (1985): 133, had this to say about the changing nature of ethnicity: "The psychosocial identity of a person, being rooted in individual needs and subjective perceptions, is open to redefinition in the light of his or her new experiences and developmental changes during the life cycle. As well, the condition of an ethnic group as a whole is changeable historically under the influence of large scale economic, political and demographic changes in the world." D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985: 66, on the other hand, emphasized the primordial definition, while providing space for situational definitions of ethnicity.

With reference to the colonial era, attempts by the colonial regime to invent new ethnic groups by lumping together a number of national groups under a single ethnic group, such as the Basoga, Etesot, Bagishu and Lugbara, for example, added a new layer of ethnic identity. Often times, the official ethnic designation was used by the affected groups for official interactions with the regime.[170] However, colonial policies of "divide and rule," "indirect rule" and marginalization confirmed to the affected groups the importance of maintaining their pre-colonial "national" identities.[171] Indeed, in a multi-ethnic society, where the purposes, ends and legitimacy of the state, its institutions and the incumbents were violently contested, each ethnic group believed that no other group or individuals could protect and secure its interests. In such a political culture and political system, politicized ethnic differences increased the severe crisis of legitimacy, made legitimacy quite divisible, undermined the viability of the state and generated political instability and political violence.[172]

Colonial Power Structure and Political Violence

In Uganda, the colonial regime attempted to overcome its severe crisis of legitimacy by creating a power structure which rested on political violence and racialist ideology. This structure operated on what A.D. Smith referred to as the gubernatorial principle: the colonial governor, appointed by the colonial power, was vested with authoritarian and supreme powers. He acted on behalf and with the advice of the British Government. He was assisted by Provincial Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners who were, in turn, assisted by District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners. They were joined at the top of this pyramid of power by European Christian missionaries, European settlers, expatriates and European scholars. Together, the Europeans created a water tight caste-like structure which masked internal differences within the "superior" caste. This caste-like structure created an appearance of unity and invincibility.[173]

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[170] P.H. Gulliver, ed., *Tradition and Transition in East Africa. Studies of Tribal Element in the Modern Era*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969: 13–14, maintained that colonialism sometimes created new ethnic groups. He presented the Etesot, Lugbara and the Bagishu in Uganda as ethnic groups that were created by colonialism. For a similar perspective, see also, G. Bennett, "Tribalism in Politics," in Gulliver, Ibid: 60.

[171] See Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*: 14; See also, Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 128; Uzoigwe, ed., Uganda: *The Dilemma of Nationhood*: xii

[172] See, for example, Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*: 12. See also, Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*: 38–42; Karugire, *A Political history of Uganda*: 123–126, 135; Kiwanuka, "Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa: The Myths of the Contrasts": 303; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda, 1900–1986*: 1–3; M. Doornbos, *Not all the King's Men: Inequality as a Political Instrument in Ankole, Uganda*. The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1978; M. H. Segall, M. Doornbos and C. Davis, *Political Identity: A Case Study from Uganda*. New York: Syracuse University, 1976: 26–176.

What this suggested in the larger context of colonial Uganda was that socio-economic and political power was captured by one racial group or one clan. This power was captured for the primary purpose of enriching the clan, Britain. This clan ran the country as a no-party or one-party state. The primary justification for imposing this political system was that it was the best for the "primitive" subjects. The bureaucracy and other institutions also operated primarily through patron-client relations, with systematic discrimination against non-members of the clan and those who disagreed with the hegemonic ideology.[174] It also meant that the state was not rooted in the society; and the purposes and ends of governance were contested. The systematic exclusion of the ruled from positions of power in the state and the patron-client relations that characterized relations within the state also suggested to the ruled that the control of the state or access to it was vital for survival. Additionally, the despotic nature of the state promoted a political culture of absolute despotism in the colonial state. Equally important, it transformed every struggle in society into a political struggle. Another important characteristic feature of the state was that it was so intimately wedded to the regime that created it that the distinction between the state and the government ceased to exist.

In this power structure, the Asians occupied the intermediary level. Their position was justified by the ruling oligarchy on the grounds that they were racially and intellectually closer to the Europeans.[175] Most of the Asians came to Uganda as indentured laborers to work on the Uganda railway. Others came as colonial troops, clerks and traders. According to the division of labor within this racially constructed pyramid of power, the Asians controlled trade and commerce. However, this racial and power status masked the deep-seated caste, religious, cultural and economic differentiations and conflicts within the group.[176] Nonetheless, by and large, the Asians endorsed the racial categorization of the Africans as savages, uncivilized and intellectually inferior to the two dominant races. However, they agitated to be included in the same power category as the Europeans. For example, on August 18, 1912, an Asian who was employed as a Grade III Clerk with the Uganda Police, J.T. Farell, sent his final petition to the Secretary of State for Colonies demanding the inclusion of Euro-Asian clerks into the same category as the European clerks. The reason he gave was that the Euro-Asians were intellectually, racially and culturally similar to the Europeans.[177] What the Asians forgot was that racial boundaries were not only too rigid to be manipulated but also served very important legitimation roles in colonial Uganda. It was, therefore, not surprising that the numerous petitions the Asians presented to the Protectorate government and the British government for equal treatment with the Europeans were turned down.[178]

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[173] See A. D. Smith. *State and Nation in the Third World*. Sussex: Wheatsheft Books, 1983: 25–35. See also, Uganda Protectorate, *Uganda Order in Council, 1962. Part II*. Buckingham Palace, August 1902, contained in Uganda Protectorate, *Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1956/57*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1956: 84–116; Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 24, 26–8.

[174] See, for example, Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 31–34; C. Pratt, "Colonial Governments and Transfer of Power in East Africa," in P. Grifford and W. M. Roger Louis, eds., The *Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940–1960*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982: 260.

Like the Europeans, the Asians were extremely arrogant and harsh toward the Africans. In fact, in the colonial setting where white supremacy was entrenched in every institution, it was the Asians, who were in more direct contacts with the Africans, who had to consistently prove to both the Europeans and Africans that they deserved the racial status they enjoyed. It was, therefore, not surprising that most accounts in Uganda suggested that they were perceived to be more racist and more arrogant than the Europeans.[179] Perhaps this perception was exaggerated by the fact that the Africans expected the Asians, who formed the middle layer of the society in Uganda and were often in close contact with them, to act less arrogantly than the Europeans.[180] This arrogance was exacerbated by the brutality with which the Asians maintained their monopoly over trade and commerce in the country. Thus, H.S. Morris noted that: "Moreover the Africans' belief that the Indians had exploited them commercially and kept them out of their rightful place in life was too powerful for most Africans to look on the Indians as anything but a small group of mischievous foreigners."[181] These factors provoked anti-Asian sentiments throughout the country.

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[175] See, for example, Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 36. In East Africa, the terms "Asians" and "Indians" are used interchangeably to refer to people of Indian and Pakistani origins.

[176] Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation*: 12, 120.

[177] See Uganda Protectorate, Petition to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, London. CO 536/52.

[178] See H.R. Wallis, Acting Governor, Memorandum, 13/9/1912. CO 536/52.

[179] Ludolo, evangelist from Kitgum, 76 years, interview by author, Oxford, December 15, 1992.

In 1925, for example, anti-Asian sentiments led to political violence in Buganda. During this wave of political violence, some Asians were raped, terrorized and murdered. The objective of the violence was to force the colonial government to change its discriminatory trade policy and force the Asians to drop their trade monopoly. The regime, however, refused to negotiate with those it referred to as "terrorists." What it did was to deploy collective terror against the Baganda. The result was that many Baganda were detained and some were tortured and murdered by the colonial troops. Although the counter-terror persuaded the Baganda to abandon any violent challenge to the regime and its allies, it did not reduce the growing anti-Asian sentiment in Buganda. Indeed, a segment of the Buganda society continued to petition the colonial government and Buganda government to abolish the discriminatory economic status the Asians enjoyed.[182]

When non-violent demands for socio-economic reforms were not heeded, the Baganda employed widespread political violence against the

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[180] Mukherjee, U*ganda: An Historical Accident?*: 36, provided an excellent analysis of how the Asians performed the intermediary role in the colonial state.

[181] H.S. Morris, *The Indians in Uganda*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968: 178. In a letter to the *Uganda Herald* in July 1921, Z.K. Sentongo, expressed similar anti-Asian sentiment: "It is now becoming increasingly evident day by day that Indian influence is operating against our economic advancement. Indian artisans and fundis with their unsanitary and low style of living, pose an almost insurmountable barrier to the native who wishes to engage in skilled labor." Cited in Low, *The Mind of Buganda*: 55.

[182] Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1950, especially: 16–17, 71; Ghai, "The Bagandan Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political, and Economic Nationalism": 755–770; Morris, *The Indians in Uganda*: 161–179; Uganda Protectorate, *Government Statement on the Report of the Committee appointed by His Excellency the Governor to make Recommendations for the Advancement of Africans in Trade and Commerce*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

Asians, the Buganda government and the colonial government. This took place from April to June, 1949. After much destruction of property, loss of lives and detention of thousands of Baganda, the colonial government finally restored law and order in Buganda. However, from 1959 to 1960, widespread anti-Asian, anti-Buganda government and anti-regime violence again dominated the political landscape of Buganda. This unprecedented wave of political violence was organized by the Buganda-based Uganda National Movement (UNM). The violence compelled the colonial government to declare a state of emergency in Buganda. By the time stability was restored, some 300 Baganda had been killed, thousands detained and the ringleaders deported from Buganda. Anti-Asian sentiment, however, persisted and outlived the colonial era.[183]

At the bottom of the power structure were the colonized Africans. This category was divided into two broad groups: the Baganda and the rest of Ugandans. The former was placed at the top-bottom of the power structure because, according to an invented imperial justification, they were the most civilized of the "uncivilized" colonial subjects. By lumping the colonized into these categories, and establishing different rules for the two sub-groups, the colonial government further fragmented the colonial state. On the one hand, this strategy encouraged the development of a weak and fractured Buganda nationalism. The nationalism was fragmented and weak because those Baganda who lost out in the 1900 Buganda Agreement, Baganda peasants and clan heads, were in arms against the Baganda establishment over the land tenure systems, land tax and cash commutation of slave labor, *luwalo*. Political rivalries between Baganda Protestants and Baganda Catholics also weakened Buganda nationalism.

On the other hand, the colonial strategy of dividing the colonized between the Baganda and the rest of Ugandans encouraged the development of anti-Buganda sentiment in the rest of the country. This development, however, did not lead to the emergence of a strong anti-Buganda nationalism because members of these diverse ethnic and social groups were preoccupied with other issues, including land tenure systems, taxation and forced labor. The development of anti-Buganda nationalism was also restrained by internal factionalism based on ethnicity and religio-political conflicts in those parts of the country. What the strategy did, therefore, was to exacerbate the fragmentation of the colonial state without leading to the development of any viable form of nationalism: Buganda nationalism, anti-Buganda nationalism or Uganda nationalism.[184]

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[183] Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1950, especially: 16–17, 71; Ghai, "The Bagandan Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political, and Economic Nationalism": 755–770; Morris, *The Indians in Uganda*: 161–179; Uganda Protectorate, *Government Statement on the Report of the Committee appointed by His Excellency the Governor to make Recommendations for the Advancement of Africans in Trade and Commerce*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

At the top of the space designated for the colonized were the colonial chiefs. Generally, appointment to this privileged position required two important criteria. The first was proven membership into one of the Christian denominations, preferably Anglican-Protestantism. One of the consequences of this criterion was that the Anglican-Protestants dominated chiefly positions, followed by the Catholics and then the Moslems. In this patron-client state, members of the African traditional religions were essentially excluded from chiefly offices.[185] The second criterion was, whenever possible, a demonstrated willingness and capacity to effectively "collaborate" with the despotic state and regime. This criterion was further entrenched by the 1919 Native Authority Ordinance. F.G. Burke had this to say about the ordinance:

> This ordinance gave the chiefs of Uganda - both those possessed of traditional authority and those superimposed over clan or age group societies – a degree of authority which greatly exceeded anything they held traditionally. Backed by the power of the Colonial government in the guise of the District Commissioner, the chiefs' powers of arrest and seizure, and control over the allocation and use of property were nearly unlimited.... As his decision as to the substance of native law or custom was final, his powers in fact were limited only by his accountability to the District Commissioner.[186]

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[184] For a good discussion of nationalism, see W. Conner, "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a …": 441–472. For a work that refers to almost any sentiment as a form of nationalism, see Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*: 37–39.

[185] A. I. Richards, ed., *East African Chiefs*. London: Faber and Faber, 1960: 74–75, 94–95, 123–125, 142–143, 170–171, 274–275, 308–309, 324–325.

[186] Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*: 34–35. See also, G. S. K. Ibingira, *The Forging of an African Nation: The Political and Constitutional Evolution of Uganda from Colonial Rule to Independence, 1894–1962*. New York: The Viking Press, 1973: 19–23. Indeed, not even the limited reforms initiated by the District Administration (District Council) Ordinance of 1955 changed the despotic nature of colonial chiefs. To be sure, it was unrealistic to expect colonial chiefs, who were civil servants, to be less despotic than the regime, the state and the institutions for which they worked. For the 1955 proposed reforms, see Uganda Protectorate, *The District Administration (District Councils) Ordinance, 1955*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1954. Various reports into increased political instability and

Burke's assertion requires correction. To begin with, as demonstrated in the foregoing, by and large, a colonial chief did not possess traditional authority or traditional legitimacy because colonialism, by its very nature, was at odds with traditional African values, norms, practices and customs of legitimacy. Traditional authority, whose more immediate custodians were the clan heads and village councils, had been deliberately displaced and transformed by the colonial state. The despotic powers the colonial chiefs acquired, therefore, stemmed from the principal source of those powers: the despotic colonial state. The despotic state and the incumbents had engaged in deliberate extermination of the colonized, seizure of land and livestock, detention and deportation of anti-colonial resisters and implementation of policies of collective terror through coerced and unpaid labor systems. What the Native Authority Ordinance did was, therefore, to legally extend some of those powers to the colonial chiefs. The colonial chiefs, as such, simply transmitted state despotism. As the chief implementer of unpopular and violent colonial policies on the ground, the colonial chief appeared to be more violent than a European district commissioner or the colonial governor. The colonial chief only appeared to be more violent because, in practice, he imitated the colonial governor and the district commissioners who employed collective punishment, including seizure of livestock and extermination of resisters. In some instances, the colonial chief had to appear to be more violent than the European administrator because he had to constantly prove his loyalty and competence to the despotic colonial state by trying to outperform violent European colonial administrators.[187]

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political violence during the decolonization period noted that the proposed reforms did not reform the despotic institutions and their local agents. See, for a start, Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Bugisu District Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, October 1960; Uganda Protectorate, *Sessional Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in certain areas of the Bukedi and Bugisu Districts of the Eastern Province during the month of January, 1960* (Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1960). Entebbe: Government Printer, 1960; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Management of the Teso District Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, March 1958; Uganda Protectorate, *Memorandum by the Protectorate Government on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Management of Teso District Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, April 1958.

[187] Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*: 38–42. See also, Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1950: 1–85.

Economic Underdevelopment, Fragmentation of the Colonial State and Legitimation Crisis

Colonial economic policy had two related objectives: make the country pay the bills for colonization and turn the country into a dependent raw material producing economy to support the British industrial economy.[188] In order to achieve these objectives, the economy had to be transformed by reorganizing land and labor, introducing and encouraging the production of cash crops, and levying taxes.[189] The first concerted attempt to implement this policy was enshrined in the 1900 Buganda Agreement. This agreement, among other things, radically transformed land tenure, taxation and labor systems in Buganda. The main local beneficiaries of this agreement were the colonial chiefs. Those who lost out in the agreement were the *bataka* (clan heads) and the *bakopi* (peasants). Later, the losers formed the Bataka Party. In 1945 and 1949, for example, the party violently challenged the legitimacy of the agreement, the colonial regime and the Buganda government. In 1959 and 1960, the UNM tapped into the widespread anti-Asian, anti-Buganda government and anti-regime discontent, and employed widespread and intense violence against some of these targets in Buganda.[190]

In pursuit of its economic policy, the government partitioned the country into various economic zones: cash crop reserves, labor reserves and cattle reserves. The south was designated as a cash crop zone. The main crops were cotton, coffee and sugar. Western Uganda became both labor and cattle reserves. The north, except the Closed District of Karamoja, was declared a labor reserve. Professor Mamdani observed some of the effects of this policy:

> In the northern and western parts of the country the consequences of the government labor policy were even more far-reaching. The core of this area, the West Nile District, and the subsidiary areas, including Acholi, Lango, Kigezi, Ankole, and Bugisu, were gradually developed into labor reservoir for the cash-crop economy of the south .... In 1925, for example, when an agricultural officer in the West Nile District succeeded in encouraging

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[188] For an excellent analysis of colonial economic policy and its effects on Uganda, see Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 40–146.

[189] See Ibid: 40–64, 120–146.

[190] See Ibid: 51–52; Ghai, "The Bugandan Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political and Economic Nationalism": 755–770.

> cotton production and thereby hindered the recruitment of laborers for the plantations, the director of agriculture informed him that it was official policy 'to refrain from actively stimulating the production of cotton or other economic crops in outlying districts on which [it] is dependent for a supply of labor for the carrying out of essential services in the central or producing districts.'[191]

The partition of the country into various reservations also became the partition of the country into enclaves of uneven underdevelopment. The partition further created and sustained an environment conducive to increased conflict, instability and political violence in the colonial creation.

The colonial economic policy also ensured the super-exploitation of the colonized. For example, the government's treasurer report of 1936 had this to say about the effects of direct taxation on the colonized: "In Uganda the bulk of the taxation is paid by large numbers in rural areas and the amount paid by each individual represents a very large proportion of his [*sic*] money income; in many cases the proportion approaches 100 per cent.... In Uganda taxation is the principal incentive to labour."[192] This observation did not include other forms of taxes such as coerced and unpaid labor, taxes on cash crops, goods and services.[193] The policy also banned many pre-colonial industries such as iron working and smelting.[194] Instead, Ugandans were required to import industrial items from Britain, including similar ones that they used to produce locally and with appropriate technology before the colonial era.[195] Thus, in support of W. Rodney's thesis that the underdevelopment of Africa was a direct outcome of the suppression of indigenous technologies and exploitation of the continent by European imperial powers, Mamdani concluded that: "Walter Rodney observes that the African peasant went into colonialism with a hoe, and came out of it with a hoe. He should have added that the hoe the peasant went in with was locally manufactured; the hoe he came out with was imported!"[196] The economic policy also mandated that the country produce and export only raw materials. In return, it was required to import, at inflated prices, virtually every manufactured good it consumed.[197]

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[191] Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 52. See also, Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation:* 118; A. G. G. Ginyera-Pinycwa, *Issues in Pre-independence Politics in Uganda*. Kampala, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1976: 28; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 12–47.

[192] Cited in Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 161.

[193] For an excellent analysis of colonial tax systems, see Ibid: 156–161.

[194] Ibid: 54–5.

[195] Ibid: 166–203.

This vertical and parasitic integration of Uganda into the world capitalist economy guaranteed the continuous economic underdevelopment and marginalization of the country. This meant that the state would be prone to manipulations by the economically hegemonic states and the hegemonic international economic systems. Equally important, it meant that the dependent state, which became a dominant player in controlling and allocating economic resources, was "incapable" of carrying out two cardinal functions of a viable and legitimate state: facilitating economic development and providing for the basic human needs of the population. The pervasive presence of the predatory state in all aspects of socio-economic and political life also made access to state power a necessary means of guaranteeing some limited services.[198]

Political Parties, Crisis of Legitimacy and Political Violence

Organized political parties emerged toward the end of the colonial era. The parties were formed along ethnic and religious lines. The sectarian nature of the parties reflected the fragmented nature of the state and the political culture of discrimination, alienation and despotism that dominated the political landscape of the state since 1890. In that respect, the sectarian nature of political parties was the product of, and later added to, the severe crisis of legitimacy of the colonial state.[199]

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[196] Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 7.

[197] See Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*: 156–198.

[198] The foregoing suggests that the colonial state was a totalitarian state. Here, totalitarianism means "[a]absolute control by the state of most aspects of the daily lives of its *citizens*, according to the dictates of a ruling party that professes some exhaustive ideology (say *fascism* or *communism*)." For this definition, see C.J. Nolan, *The Longman Guide to World Affairs*. New York: Longman, 1995: 392. Relationship between colonialism and economic underdevelopment in the colonial state is extensively discussed by many scholars. For a start, see Mukherjee, *Uganda: An Historical Accident?*, especially: 166–208; *Mamdani, Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 40–188; Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*: 1–162, 239–265; W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Overtiure, 1972.

[199] C. Gertzel, *Party and Locality in Northern Uganda, 1945–1962*. London: The Athlone, 1974: 3–4; D. A. Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*. London: The Athlone Press, 1962: 8–10, 13–16.

The Bataka Party (BP) and the Uganda African Farmers' Union (UAFU)

In the 1920s the *bataka* and the *bakopi* made unsuccessful attempts to renegotiate some aspects of the 1900 Agreement which discriminated against them. This led to the formation of an umbrella pressure movement: the "Sons of Kintu" (Kintu being the legendary founder of pre-colonial Buganda), whose objective was to articulate the grievances of this group. When it failed to secure a better deal from the Buganda government, it focused its attention on securing the dismissal of the landed-chiefs, the *Katikiro* (prime minister) and *Omuwanika* (treasurer). In 1945 the group, together with other aggrieved sectors of Buganda society, carried out widespread acts of political violence against the Buganda government, the colonial government and the Asians.[200] Immediately the uprising was crushed, and the colonial government deported 19 people associated with the uprising. Seven of the deportees would later play important roles in the Bataka and Uganda Farmer's Union: K. Musazi, J. Kivu, B. Kayongo, Y. Mulindwa, P. Kiingi, S.S. Mukasa and D.M. Mukubira.[201]

Against this background, the pressure group transformed itself into the Bataka Party in 1946. The party, led by Jamesi Miti, drew its membership from a large section of the Buganda society: educated Baganda, bataka, bakopi, urban and rural dwellers and ex-servicemen. Its composition made it an umbrella party of groups with diverse interests. What temporarily united its diverse membership was the opposition to the land tenure systems of the 1900 Buganda Agreement; the slow pace of political reform in Buganda; the growing abuse of political power by colonial chiefs; the growing alienation of the Baganda from the Kabaka; and the exploitation of local cotton and coffee growers by the colonial government, Buganda government and the Asian middlemen.[202]

The UAFU, for its part, was headed by K. Musazi. Like the BP, it was founded in Buganda by Baganda and for Buganda. The cardinal objectives of the party were to end the widespread and systematic malpractice by the Asian and European cotton buyers in Buganda, and end the monopoly of trade and commerce, including the marketing and processing of cash crops, by Asians in Buganda. Like the BP, the UAFU exerted pressure on the Buganda government and the colonial government to reform the economic policies in Buganda. In order to achieve its objective, the UAFU allied with the BP.[203]

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[200] See Ghai, "The Bugandan Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political and Economic Nationalism": 755–770; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1950: 71.

[201] See Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*: 108–109.

[202] See Ibid: 71–101; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 300–321.

Between 1947 and 1950, the two parties worked very closely together. For example, in 1948, the BP, in collaboration with the UAFU, organized monthly mass meetings which attracted at least 8000 people every month. At the meetings, every "possible subject which could be worked up as grievance was canvassed."[204] At almost every meeting, a letter was read from the most vocal opponent of the colonial government who was also the representative of the two parties in England, Semakula Mulumba.[205] During this period, both Mulumba and Musazi used the local newspapers, the *Uganda Star*, *Gambuze*, *Mugobansonga* and *Munyonyozi*, to articulate and communicate the agenda of the parties, and mobilize the masses in Buganda against the Buganda government, the colonial government and the Asians.[206]

By August 1948, the parties had challenged the legitimacy of the Buganda government so much that the latter asked the colonial government to ban public meetings organized by the parties. On August 14, 1948, the colonial government enacted an ordinance prohibiting any public assembly of more than 500 persons. Other repressive laws were also enacted. The parties responded to these measures by asking peasants in Buganda not to sell their cotton to any buyer other than the UAFU. They also urged the peasants to demonstrate their discontent with the colonial government and Buganda government by uprooting cotton from their farms. These appeals were largely honored not only in Buganda but also in other territories where similar grievances existed, especially in Bunyoro and Toro. On April 21, 1949, the parties, operating under the banner of the BP, began to mobilize aggrieved Baganda to present a petition to the Kabaka.[207]

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[203] Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*: 15–81; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 37.

[204] Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*: 73.

[205] Ibid: 73–101.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid: 16–17.

On April 25, 1949, thousands of people camped in front of the Kabaka's palace at Lubiri to present their petitions. In the petitions, they demanded that: the Kabaka democratize the political system by allowing people to elect their chiefs; the Buganda government resign because its authoritarianism and corruption had alienated it from the masses in Buganda; people be allowed to gin their own cotton; and people be allowed to sell their produce directly to the outside world to avoid the super-exploitation they suffered in the hands of the Asian and European trade monopolists.[208] However, the Kabaka rejected the demands.[209]

The following morning, thousands of people joined those who had camped out in front of Lubiri the previous night. The Vice-President of UAFU, P. Sonko, then gave an ultimatum to the Kabaka to dismiss his ministers and colonial-appointed chiefs or face the consequences of his unwillingness to yield to the legitimate demands of his subjects. Before the Kabaka had responded to the ultimatum, the Acting Deputy Commissioner of Police, C.V. Curtis, and the Superintendent of Police (Mengo), Mullin, declared that the assembly was unlawful. After some skirmishes between the police and the crowd, the latter left the area and began to destroy properties belonging to the Buganda government. They also hunted down colonial chiefs and raided petrol pumps to acquire fuel for arson. Thereafter, some 200 vehicles, most of them belonging to the Buganda government and the colonial government, were seized to transport people to burn down local government centers and properties of colonial chiefs. Some 400 houses were reported destroyed, and many shops, factories and private houses were looted.[210]

This wave of political violence caused so much instability in Buganda that the colonial government sent for armed police and the KAR from Jinja and Kenya. Armored vehicles, Auster aircraft, a Royal Air Force Anson aircraft and other heavy military equipments were also mobilized to fight the violence and lawlessness in Buganda. The regime then appealed to Europeans and Asians to arm themselves and patrol parts of Buganda. After nearly two months of total anarchy in Buganda, the regime and the Buganda government regained military control of the area. Thereafter, the leaders of the BP and UAFU were arrested and sentenced to 15 years with hard labor. Their belongings were also confiscated by the regime. According to the regime, 1724 Baganda were detained by the central government. Thousands more were detained by the Buganda government.[211] The central government also reported that eight Baganda were killed during the unrest. These deaths were described as "justifiable homicide" and "misadventure."[212] Opponents of the regime, however, disputed the number of those killed by the regime. According to them, at least 300 Baganda were killed, and thousands were detained by the central government. They also claimed that the regime seized millions of cotton bales from Baganda peasants.[213]

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[208] Ibid: 21–23.

[209] Ibid: 24–27. See also, Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 37; Sathyamurthy, The *Political Development of Uganda*: 201–321.

[210] Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*: 31–43; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 201–321; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 37.

During the uprising, the regime utilized repressive legal instruments to address the severe crisis of legitimacy. For example, on April 27, 1949, it declared both the BP and the UAFU unlawful societies. On the same day, it imposed press censorship, shutdown many local newspapers and detained many local journalists. On April 28, 1949, it amended the 1939 Emergency Order in Council (Legal Notice Nos. 100, 102, 103 and 110 of 1949). This law made it an offence for an African to carry "weapons," including kitchen knives. It also gave extensive powers to the police to arrest and remove anybody who was believed to be a "non-resident" of an urban center or trading center. The result of the ethnic *cum* class cleansing in urban centers led to the forcible removal of thousands of people from urban and trading centers. The police was also given the power to disperse any assembly of more than five people. This meant that a typical African family could not meet to discuss family matters without risking detention. On April 28 and 29, 1949, the regime gave extensive powers to the military (Legal Notices Nos. 101 and 103 of 1949) to do whatever was required to maintain law and order in Buganda. Two days later, the same powers were extended to the Eastern Province. On the same day, the Emergency Powers (Industrial Disputes) Regulations (Legal Notice No. 11 of 1949) were also promulgated. These regulations were intended to prevent workers from engaging in strikes. On May 2, 1949, the Emergency Powers (Powers of Arrest and Search) Regulations (Legal Notice No. 112 of 1949) were promulgated to protect the police and the military from being sued for employing excessive violence. The enforcement of these draconian laws effectively ended the political activities of the two political parties.[214]

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[211] See Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda During April, 1949*: 43–65.

[212] See Ibid: 54–58.

[213] Ibid: 93.

The Uganda National Congress

The collapse of the two parties gave rise to the Uganda National Congress (UNC) in 1952. The UNC, headed by the former leader of UAFU, K. Musazi, was formed in Buganda by Baganda and for Buganda. Its founding members were educated Baganda Protestants who were alienated from the economic and political system. It demanded socio-economic and political reforms in Buganda. When its demands were not met, it made a strategic demand for self-government in the country. Although the demand for self-government was intended to strengthen the position of UNC to bargain for reforms in Buganda, it provided the party with limited support in other parts of the country. The support allowed it to open branches outside Buganda. However, every local branch of the party was an autonomous entity, and, as in Buganda, every branch focused its energy exclusively on local issues. The sectarian nature of the party was consistent with the sectarian nature of the colonial state.[215]

The development of the UNC was also significantly influenced by the "Kabaka crisis" that led to the deportation of Kabaka Mutesa II to Britain in November 1953. The more immediate cause of the crisis may be traced to 1921 when the Buganda government refused to participate in the Legislative Council. Buganda's objection was based on the grounds that its participation in the Council would erode the special status accorded to the kingdom by the 1900 Agreement. Next, in 1948, the colonial governments in Kenya and Uganda created the East African High Commission. This development suggested to the Buganda oligarchy that the two countries would soon become a federation. This perception presented two problems to the Buganda establishment. First, that Buganda would lose some of its land to the white settlers in Kenya. Secondly, such a federation would erode Buganda's special status. The result was that the Buganda government opposed any attempt to establish an East African federation.

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[214] Ibid: 17, 48–51.

[215] Gertzel, *Party and Locality in Northern Uganda, 1945–1962*: 46–85; Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 16; Low, *Mind of Buganda*: 181–183; *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 18–19.

Although the regime promised to abandon the plan for a federation, the Buganda government remained quite anxious about the issue. The level of political anxiety increased when in 1953 Governor Sir A. Cohen urged the Buganda oligarchy to begin to democratize the Lukiko. Although Cohen's proposal was consistent with some of the popular demands that had led to the widespread violence in Buganda in 1949, the Buganda government resisted it because the disgruntled masses were determined to vote the oligarchy, except the Kabaka, out of power.[216]

The tensions between the Buganda government and the regime exploded when the Nairobi-based *East African Standard* published a speech by the Secretary for Colonies, Oliver Lyttelton (later Lord Chandos), that the British government was still exploring the proposal for federating the East African territories. The news forced the Buganda government to demand that Buganda's affairs be transferred from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office because, according to the Buganda establishment, the kingdom was a partner, not a colony, of the British government. It also insisted upon an immediate formulation of a timetable for Buganda's independence.[217] However, when the demands were rejected, it agitated for an immediate and unconditional granting of Buganda's independence. At that point, on November 30, 1953, Governor Cohen declared that Sir Edward Mutesa II had violated the terms of the 1900 Agreement and had ceased to be the Kabaka of Buganda. On the same day, Mutesa was hurriedly deported to Britain.[218]

The deportation of Kabaka Mutesa, which the Baganda perceived as one of the worst forms of political violence against the kingdom, was essentially intended to restore law and order in Buganda, and force the Buganda oligarchy to endorse the political reforms proposed by the regime. However, the deportation led to more anti-regime violence and lawlessness in Buganda. It also provided the Buganda oligarchy with the opportunity to rehabilitate itself by claiming to the masses in Buganda that the Kabaka had been deported because he refused to allow the regime to take away Buganda's land. This made the Kabaka quite popular in

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[216] See, for a start, P. Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–1955: The Story of the Exile and Return of the Kabaka, Mutesa II*. London: Rex Collings, 1979:12–36; Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 16–17.

[217] P. Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–1955: The Story of the Exile and Return of the Kabaka, Mutesa II*. London: Rex Collings, 1979:12–36; Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 16–17.

[218] Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–1955:* 12–36.

Buganda. The Buganda government then demanded the recognition of Luganda as the second official national language, the immediate return of the Kabaka, the abolition of the Legislative Council and the recognition of the Kabaka over everyone in Uganda save the Governor.[219] The UNC added its voice to that of the Buganda establishment and articulated extreme forms of Buganda nationalism that alienated its non-Baganda supporters. [220] As a result, in 1959 the party split into two warring factions: one camp, composed exclusively of Baganda Protestants, remained under the leadership of Musazi; the other, composed almost exclusively of non-Baganda Protestants, rallied behind Milton A. Obote.[221]

The Democratic Party

The Democratic Party (DP) was formed in 1956. Its first President-General was M. Mugwanya, an aggrieved former *Omulamuzi* (the Chief Justice of Buganda) and the grandson of the leader of the Catholic party in Buganda during the politico-religious wars of the 1880s and 1890s, Stanislaus Mugwanya. Professor J.B. Mujaju explained why Mugwanya was aggrieved:

> In 1956, following the launching of the democratic process in Buganda, Matayo Mugwanya stood for the Katikiroship against two Protestant rivals, Michael Kintu and Paul Kavuma. The Lukiko, then composed of 3 ministers, 20 chiefs, 60 elected representatives and 6 personal nominees of the Kabaka, constituted an electoral college to choose the Katikiro. Pre-election forecasts indicated that Mugwanya might defeat his rivals. This likelihood of a Mugwanya victory was intolerable to the Kabaka and the Protestant oligarchy controlling Mengo. For this reason the Kabaka took measures to block the election of Mugwanya.... Mugwanya's supporters became convinced that the Mengo regime was serving the interests of the Protestant oligarchy at the expense of the Roman Catholic community. Their fears were soon confirmed. After losing to Kintu, Mugwanya won a bye-election in the Lukiko as the member for Mawokota. The Mengo government barred him

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[219] Ibid: 31–70; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda* 154; Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 17.

[220] Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–1955:* 20.

[221] Ibid: 16–17, 21–22; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 20–22; K. Ingham, *Obote: A Political Biography*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994: 59.

> from taking his seat on the pretext that he was already a member of the East African Legislative Assembly.[222]

This systematic discrimination led to the formation of the DP to promote the interests of the Catholics in Buganda and challenge the hegemony of the Protestant establishment. From its inception, therefore, the DP was a Catholic party, formed in Buganda and led by Baganda. Like the other parties, it had a severe crisis of legitimacy because its composition and agenda alienated other segments of the society. The party expanded to other parts of the country using the networks of the Catholic Church. In 1958, the DP encouraged Buganda to participate in nationwide elections for the Legislative Council. This angered the Buganda government because it believed that the DP, with its overwhelming majority and popular support in Buganda, would win the elections. As the DP continued to present such a major challenge to the faltering legitimacy of the Buganda government, the latter organized widespread and intense political violence against members of the party. The result was that many members of DP were tortured, imprisoned and killed.[223] Faced with this wave of political violence, some leading members of the party, including Ssenteza Kajubi, attempted to form a coalition party with the wing of the UNC led by Obote in 1960. This effort was also intended to build a strong coalition of perceived supporters of democratic rule in a unitary state. However, the quest for coalition collapsed over the question of leadership.[224]

The Uganda National Movement

The UNM was led by a Muganda Protestant, A. Kamya. It emerged during the violent period of the 1958 elections in Buganda. The party attracted many prominent Baganda politicians, including G.L. Binaisa and P. Muwanga. These two politicians would later play very important roles in

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[222] J. B. Mujaju, "The Illusion of Democracy in Uganda, 1955–1966," in W. O. Oyugi, E. S. A. Odiambo, M. Chege and A. K. Gitonga, eds., *Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa*. London: James Currey, 1988: 88.

[223] Ibid; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 162–163.

[224] See Ingham, *Obote:* 59–60; Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962:* 18–19; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 22–24; Ginyera-Pinycwa, *Issues in Pre-Independence Politics in Uganda: A case study on the contribution of Religion to Political Debate in Uganda in the Decade 1952–1962*; Gertzel, *Party and Locality in Northern Uganda, 1945–1962*: 2.

national politics. It also attracted Baganda traders, peasants and laborers. The diverse class nature of the Movement made it an umbrella organization with conflicting and competing objectives, depending on whose views were elevated at any given time. For example, while some of its leaders, such as Muwanga and Binaisa, agitated for speedy progress toward self-government for the country and the Africanization of the economy, others were determined to frustrate the deliberations of the Wild Constitutional Committee and prevent major political parties from gaining support in Buganda. The latter segment of the UNM attempted to achieve its objectives by launching "an eight-month 'systematic campaign of intimidation, violence and destruction of property' against real or imagined enemies of Buganda."[225] In 1959, the party organized the most violent trade boycott in Buganda: thousands of coffee trees were destroyed, many houses were set on fire, shops belonging to Asians were attacked and looted and a number of people were killed.[226] The regime responded by banning the Movement and imposing a state of emergency in Buganda.[227]

The Uganda People's Union and the Uganda People's Congress

In 1958, the Uganda People's Union (UPU) was formed as a coalition party by non-Baganda members of the Legislative Council. The primary objectives of the party were to offer a credible challenge to the Baganda neo-traditionalists and challenge Buganda's privileged position in Uganda. From its inception, therefore, the UPU was anti-Buganda.[228] In March 1960, the UPU and the Obote wing of the UNC formed the Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Like the UPU, the UPC brought together elected Protestant members of the Council who were opposed to Buganda's special status.[229] Its leader, A. Milton Obote, had already established himself in the Legislative Council "as the most articulate of the Protectorate Government's critics."[230] Like the other parties, the UPC was a recent creation, lacked a democratic structure and practice, and had a profound crisis of legitimacy in Buganda and among the Catholics in the country.

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[225] Mujaju, "The Illusion of Democracy in Uganda, 1955–1966": 89.

[226] Ibid. An excellent analysis of the violence is Ghai, "The Bugandan Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political, and Economic Nationalism": 756, 757, 758.

[227] Ghai, "The Bugandan Trade Boycott: A Study in Tribal, Political, and Economic Nationalism": 755–770. See also, Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 32, 39.

[228] Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 21–22.

[229] Ibid; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 165–169.

[230] Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 31.

The Foggy Road to Self-Government and Independence

Immediately after the Second World War when the British imperial hegemony radically faltered, the Africa Division at the Colonial Office, led by S. Caine and A. Cohen, reluctantly urged colonial governors in Africa to gradually democratize the territories and nominate African representatives to legislative councils. This instruction compelled the reluctant "men on the spot" to gradually weaken the machinery of terror and repression that had provided the despotic state with strong infrastructural powers and stability of a police state.[231] Various ethnic and other interest groups responded by demanding that their interests be met before the granting of political independence. The result was that political instability and political violence increased throughout the country.[232]

A few examples will shed light on the instability and political violence that resulted from the weakening of the machinery of regime terror and repression, and the competing demands of the colonized. In eastern Uganda, the people of Bukedi petitioned the government to redefine the boundary between Bukedi and Bugishu districts. They also demanded an end to coerced and unpaid labor and regime despotism. When the government ignored their demands, widespread violence erupted within and between the two districts. Similarly, when the regime ignored the demand of the people of Nakaloke sub-county of Bugishu district to remove colonial chiefs from office, violence erupted against the chiefs. On January 20, 1960, the government responded by declaring the whole of Central Bugisu county a disturbed area. Thereafter, it deployed the KAR, under the command of Colonel Blair of the 4th Battalion, to crush the rebellion and restore law and order. After much bloodshed, law and order was restored in the area. During this period, the Sebei, who had all along resented their marginalization under the Bagishu hegemony, also declared war against their overlords. Similarly, violence erupted between north and south Teso districts because of the colonial policies of divide and rule, systematic discrimination, despotism and economic disparities between the two districts.[233]

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[231] See C. Pratt, "Colonial Government and the Transfer of Power in East Africa": 250–263.

[232] Interestingly, neither the colonizer nor the colonized knew when independence would be granted until the very last moment. See Jackson and Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment": 7–9; Pratt, "Colonial Government and the Transfer of Power in East Africa": 250–263.

In western Uganda, the Banyoro continued to demand the return of their territories which the colonial government had seized and handed over to Buganda. For example, in 1931, the Mubende-Banyoro Committee appealed to the British Joint Parliamentary Committee on Closer Union to return the Lost Counties to Bunyoro. The Secretary of State, however, rejected the appeal. The Committee made more appeals in 1951, 1953 and 1955. Similarly, in 1933, 1943, 1948, 1949 and 1954, the Omukama of Bunyoro appealed in vain to the Secretary of State to return the Lost Counties to Bunyoro. On August 22, 1956, the Owekitinisia Katikiro of Bunyoro-Kitara demanded that the Buganda government return Bunyoro's six counties: Buhekura, Buyuga, Bugangaizi, Rugonjo (North Ssingo), Buruli and Bunyara (Bugerere). In the end, the regime responded to these growing demands, which had generated enormous political instability and political anxiety in both Buganda and Bunyoro, by appointing the Uganda Relationship Commission in 1961 to recommend how the issue should be resolved. The Commission recommended that a referendum be held in the counties to determine whether or not they should be returned to Bunyoro. However, Buganda rejected this recommendation. It also rejected the recommendation by the Molson Commission that the counties be handed over to Bunyoro without a referendum to avert the danger of political violence between Baganda and Banyoro.[234]

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[233] Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission appointed to Review the Boundary between the Districts of Bugisu and Bukedi*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Eastern Province, 1960*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 31 March, 1960; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Bugisu District Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, October 1960; Uganda Protectorate, *Sessional Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in certain areas of the Bukedi and Bugisu Districts of the Eastern Province during the month of January, 1960* (Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1960). Entebbe: Government Printer, 1960; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Management of the Teso District Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, March 1958; Uganda Protectorate, *Memorandum by the Protectorate Government on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Management of Teso District Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, April 1958. See also, Ginyera-Pinycwa, *Issues in Pre-Independence Politics in Uganda: A case study on the contribution of Religion to Political Debate in Uganda in the Decade 1952–1962*: 5; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 33–34.

Similarly, in Ankole, conflicts between the two main ethnic groups, the Bairu and the Hima, escalated and generated much instability. The conflicts stemmed primarily from the struggle by the Bairu to dismantle the Hima hegemony. The struggle for religious supremacy between the Protestants and the Catholics also complicated and further contributed to the instability and violence in the area.[235]

The area that experienced the most prolonged and intense political violence and instability was a portion of the Toro kingdom. To begin with, when the Toro Kingdom came into existence, its boundary did not include the territories of the Baamba and Bakonjo. However, in 1906, Governor Sir Hesketh Bell redefined the boundary of Toro to include the independent states of the Baamba and the Bakonjo. The two ethnic groups, however, did not consent to the new political arrangement that marginalized them. When they realized that the regime was not willing to listen to them, some Bakonjo and Baamba engaged in a new form of anti-regime violence: migration out of the territory to join their relatives in Belgian-Congo. Some of those who did not migrate responded by declaring war on the colonial regime.[236]

By 1912, anti-regime violence had been crushed. However, in 1919 another wave of anti-regime violence, led by Tibamwenda, Nyamuchwa and Kapoli, resurfaced in the Bakonjo territory. Once again, the government put down the rebellion. In 1920, three leaders of the rebellion, who had escaped to Belgian-Congo, were deported to Uganda and executed by public hanging near Nyabirongo in 1921. In 1923, the colonial regime transferred the administration of the two territories to the Toro government. However, the following year the Bakonjo and the Baamba shattered any myth about the effectiveness of the public executions: they declared war against the regime and the Toro government.[237]

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[234] See "The Speech of the Owekitinisa of Bunyoro-Kitara at Mengo on 22nd of August, 1956." Reprinted in Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 223; G. F. Engholm and A. A. Mazrui, "Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda," *Government and Opposition*, 2, 4 (July–October, 1967): 587.

[235] Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 170–176; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation:* 42–45, 158–163.

[236] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Recent Disturbances amongst the Baamba and Bakonjo People of Toro*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 2–3, 5–6.

Between 1924 and early 1962, the Baamba and the Bakonjo relentlessly demanded their own district. This demand was propelled by a number of injustices which they had suffered at the hands of the Toro establishment. First, the two ethnic groups, that comprised 42.7 % of the total population of Toro kingdom in 1959, were not recognized as distinct ethnic groups in Toro. Indeed, neither the Toro constitution nor the Anglo-Toro Agreement recognized the existence of the Bakonjo and the Baamba in the Kingdom.[238] In an attempt to address this crisis peacefully, the two ethnic groups demanded that they be recognized in the Toro constitution as distinct groups. This demand, however, was rejected by both the regime and the Toro establishment. Secondly, while the existence of the Baamba and Bakonjo were not officially recognized, the two groups were officially singled out to pay disproportionately high taxes in the Kingdom. To make matters worse, they received almost no services for the taxes they paid. Thirdly, almost every administrative position in the kingdom, from the lowest to the highest, was occupied by Batoro. Fourthly, both the Toro establishment and the colonial government demanded more coerced and unpaid labor from the two groups. This increased the burden of oppression and exploitation so much that the Bakonjo and Baamba did not have time to attend to their own needs. Fifthly, the Toro establishment made the use of Lutoro language compulsory in schools, courts, administrative offices and churches. This angered the two groups because they wanted to maintain their languages and cultures.[239]

Against this background, representatives of the Baamba and Bakonjo in the *Rukurato* (Toro Parliament) demanded that the regime allow them to create a separate district. Their request was rejected. Ironically, a similar demand made by the Sebei during this period was accepted by the regime. On March 13, 1962, the representatives once more demanded that the Toro government recognize the existence of the two groups in the Toro constitution. The demand was again rejected. Thereafter, Mukirane, Kawamara and Mupalya walked out of the *Rukurato* in protest. However, this democratic action led to the arrest and imprisonment of the three men. On July 19, 1962, they were released on bail by the High Court.

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[237] Ibid.

[238] Ibid: 29.

[239] Ibid: 7–11.

While the situation was still quite tense in Toro, a Mutoro Gombolola chief of Karambi terrorized the Baamba and Bakonjo while collecting taxes in the area. This incident, compounded by decades of harrowing marginalization, directly led to the formation of the Rwenzururu Movement, led by Isaya Mukirane. The Movement then declared the independence of the Bakonjo territory from the colonial state. The colonial government responded to the challenge to the sovereignty of the colonial state by dispatching colonial troops and police to crush the rebellion. Although the troops raped, maimed, detained and killed many people in the territory, they failed to regain control of the area.[240] What this meant was that the colonial state was now a fiction in the territory. The crisis that led to the "secession" highlighted important features of the state: the purposes and ends of government were violently contested; minorities faced exclusion, repression and appropriation; every administrative position was captured by the Batoro, with the systematic exclusion of the Bakonjo and Baamba; and the legitimacy and boundaries of the state were hotly disputed.[241]

During this turbulent period, a number of other important political developments in Buganda, including the enactment of the October 1957 Legislative Council (Election) Ordinance by the central government, intensified instability and violence in the country.[242] For example, in December 1958, the Buganda government demanded the termination of all previous agreements it had reached with the colonial government. This was intended to pave the way for Buganda's independence. When the demand was rejected, violence erupted throughout Buganda. In February 1959, the government appointed the Wild Committee to report on the future composition of the Legislative Council and the constitution for the country. This development infuriated the Buganda government so much that it refused to recognize and cooperate with the Commission. It then declared that it had nothing to do with the colonial government. This declaration was followed by a new wave of anti-regime violence in Buganda. In April 1959, the Secretary of State for Colonies, A. Lennox-Boyd, responded by declaring a state of emergency in Buganda.[243] However, the imposition of the state of emergency led to more anti-regime violence and lawlessness throughout Buganda.[244]

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[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid: 3–4, 11–12, 19–25. For a discussion about the criteria of sovereignty under normative international law, see Jackson and Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment": 11.

[242] See Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance To Provide For The Manner In Which Elections To The Legislative Council Shall Be Conducted, The Declaration Of Electoral Districts, The Qualifications Of Electors And Candidates, The Registration Of Electors, The Procedure At Elections And For Matters Connected Therewith And Incidental Thereto*. No. 20 of 1957. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1957.

While Buganda was still gripped by anarchy, the Governor-in-Council declared on June 30, 1960, that elections to the Legislative Council would take place in 1961. The elections were to pave the way for self-government. In the rest of the country, between 75 % and 85 % of eligible voters registered for the elections. In Buganda, however, only 4–5 % of eligible voters registered for the elections. The low registration in Buganda was a direct result of the widespread political terror the Buganda government employed on its people in an attempt to prevent them from participating in the elections. Despite this development in Buganda, the colonial government proceeded with arrangements for the elections and self-government. On December 15, 1960, the government appointed the Uganda Relationships Commission to recommend a constitutional arrangement for an independent Uganda. These two developments angered the Buganda government so much that it threatened not to recognize the commission unless the elections were postponed. The colonial government, however, ignored the threat and proceeded with its plan. On December 31, 1960, the Buganda government responded by declaring its independence. Buganda's direct challenge to the legitimacy of the colonial state convinced Britain to yield to some of the demands in order to ensure the survival of the colonial state.[245]

In the meantime, the Buganda government continued with its plan to prevent the elections from taking place in Buganda. The only way it could realize its objective was to employ more political terror against the supporters of the most popular political party in Buganda: the DP. The result was that some supporters of the DP were detained, maimed and murdered. Property, including crops and livestock, belonging to some members of DP, was also destroyed. The colonial government responded by enacting the Prevention of Intimidation Bill. Ironically, the government entrusted the very chiefs who were the architects of the political terror with the power to enforce the Bill. The result was that terror and coercion escalated so much that the majority of Baganda did not participate in the elections. However, the strategy adopted by the Buganda government was shortsighted because whatever votes the DP secured meant that they had won in Buganda. The results of the elections were as follows: DP: 44, UPC: 35, UNC: 1 and Independent: 2 seats. With this victory, the leader of DP, Benedicto Kiwanuka, became the Chief Minister.[246]

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[243] See Mengo, *Buganda's Independence*. Kampala: The Kabaka's Government, 1960: 15.

[244] See Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959, especially: 159–173.

[245] See Mengo, *Buganda's Independence*; Uganda Protectorate, *Uganda Legislative Council Elections, 1961*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1961, especially: 1–23.

The victory of the DP suggested to the Buganda government that the only way it could maintain its privileged status was by allying with one of the viable political parties in the country. Since it was already at war with the DP, it had to find a way of forging an alliance with the only other viable party, the UPC. This was not a difficult task because Kabaka Mutesa, who was quite impressed by Obote's articulate and consistent defense of the general position of the Buganda government, had already held two private meetings with Obote in the 1950s. The task was also made easier by the fact that both the UPC and the Buganda establishment were Protestant "parties." Furthermore, the Buganda establishment and the UPC needed each other in order to defeat the DP in the elections. This was because the only group that could make it impossible for the DP to win in Buganda was the Buganda establishment. Similarly, the only party that could defeat the DP outside Buganda was the UPC. The only major difference between the two parties was that the UPC was a republican party, while the Buganda government supported the monarchy. In the end, the benefits of an alliance to gain control of the state outweighed the costs of sticking to principles that could not win elections or secure control of the state. The result was that the UPC and the Buganda establishment agreed to work together to defeat the DP in the elections.[247]

The first opportunity for the new allies to work together came during the 1961 Constitutional Conference in London. During the Conference, the UPC was quite conciliatory toward the views of the Buganda government. Thus, Kabaka Mutesa II remarked: "Dr. Obote comes from Lango, he belongs to the Nilotic Group. The Baganda supported him, nevertheless, because he seemed to them to appreciate their anxieties better than the first, and disappointing Prime Minister of Uganda, Mr.

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[246] See Uganda Protectorate, *Uganda Legislative Council Elections, 1961,* Ibid: 1–23. See also, Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 22–24; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Uganda Relationships Commission, 1961*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1961.

[247] See E. Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the U.N.O.: Uganda's Constitutional Crisis*. Mengo: Department of Information, 1966: 10.

Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the Democratic Party (D. P.) who is himself a Muganda."[248]

Although the support the UPC provided to the Buganda government during the conference was important, the final outcome of the conference was the work of the British government. For example, the British government decided that the Buganda government was free to decide whether to appoint or elect Buganda's representatives to the National Assembly. This was an important concession because it meant that the Buganda government could defeat the DP by simply appointing Buganda's representatives to the National Assembly. Although the DP strongly protested that the concession negated the principles of liberal democracy, the British government retained it. To further allay the fears of the Buganda government, the British government secured a special status for Buganda in a unitary Uganda. It then attempted to appease the DP by promoting the Chief Minister, Kiwanuka, to the position of Prime Minister. The UPC, for its part, was promised new general elections before independence. The British government also addressed some of the concerns of the other groups attending the conference. For example, it provided Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro with federal status in the constitution. Busoga, which had been demanding a federal status, was accorded the status of a territory. The rest of the country maintained district status.[249] This tension-fitted political compromise meant that the constitution combined a unitary form of government and elements of federalism. However, the tension between these two competing visions in the constitution would sustain conflicting foci of loyalty and political instability.

Immediately after the conference, the country began to prepare for the pre-independence elections. At that point, the Buganda establishment decided that Buganda would elect representatives to the Lukiko, and then the Lukiko would nominate Buganda's representatives to the National Assembly. To ensure that the DP did not win the Lukiko elections, the Buganda establishment formed its own party, the *Kabaka Yekka* (Kabaka Alone [KY]).[250] Thereafter, the KY focused its attention on defeating the DP in the Lukiko elections. The only way it could achieve this objective was by employing political terror and intimidation against the supporters of the DP. Accordingly, it launched its campaign by presenting the DP as an opponent of the Kabaka and the Baganda.[251]

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[248] Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the U.N.O.*: 10.

[249] Colonial Office, *Report of the Uganda Independence Conference, 1962*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, July 1962.

[250] Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 26.

As the elections drew nearer, some DP supporters were killed, and others were tortured, raped and detained by the Buganda government and supporters of the KY. The KY also exerted pressure on W.W. Kalema to draw constituency boundaries in Buganda to ensure its victory in the Lukiko elections. County chiefs, who were not only members of the KY but also returning officers, were also ordered to ensure victory for the KY. The Kabaka also appointed a prominent member of the KY, F. Mpanga, as Chairman of the Buganda Election Committee. Another prominent KY member, Abu Mayanja, was appointed the Supervisor of the Elections. In the end, the party "scored" an overwhelming victory in the elections. With this victory, the Lukiko nominated 21 members to the National Assembly. Among those nominated were four non-Baganda: John Kakonge (a Munyoro), Sugra Visram (an Asian), Daudi Ochieng (an Acoli) and J.T. Simpson (a European).[252]

Immediately after the elections, "the DP submitted a detailed document listing all irregularities and malpractices which had been committed. These included: violence and intimidation, candidates who played the role of returning officers, cases of declared votes exceeding the actual number of registered voters and voters casting their votes under surveillance of fearsome KY vigilantes."[253] Despite these irregularities, the Governor accepted the results of the elections on the grounds that there was no way of organizing free and fair elections in Buganda in the absence of international observers.[254]

In the rest of the country, direct elections to the National Assembly went on as planned. The overall results were as follows: UPC: 37 seats and DP: 24 seats. With the UPC victory, Obote became the Prime Minister elect. Thereafter, the colonial government organized the final round of the Constitutional Conference in London. During the conference, the Buganda government rejected the recommendation by the Privacy

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[251] Cited in Low, *The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom*. London, Ibadan and Nairobi: Heinemann, 1971: 214–215.

[252] Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952–1962*: 30–36; "Archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka on 'Constitutional Monarch', November 1961," in Low, Ibid: . 211; Buganda Lukiko, *Buganda's Position on the Draft of Constitution*. Mengo, Kampala, 1994: 33.

[253] See Mujaju, "The Illusion of Democracy in Uganda, 1955–1966": 93. See also, Mittleman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda*: 75.

[254] Mujaju, "The Illusion of Democracy in Uganda, 1955–1966": 93.

Committee that the Lost Counties of Buyaga and Bugangazi be returned to Bunyoro. Since this issue was about to disrupt the Conference, the British Government imposed the recommendation by the Molson Commission that a referendum be held in the two Lost Counties any time after two years of independence. While the Kabaka reluctantly accepted the settlement, his acting Katikiro, Francis Walugembe, declared that he would rather resign than allow any part of Buganda to be administered by someone else.[255]

As the country prepared for independence, the parties began to accuse each other of all sorts of political crimes. For example, in July and September 1962, the UPC and KY accused the DP and the Catholic church of smuggling arms into the country from Rwanda. These arms, they insisted, were to be used against members of UPC and KY, and to topple the government. They also claimed that the DP had illegally enrolled Sudanese refugees into the party and armed them to destabilize Uganda and Sudan. Another accusation was that the DP was actively undermining the legitimacy of the government by lying to farmers that the pesticides, which the government was distributing to peasants, would destroy crops and prevent the peasants from bearing children.[256]

The DP, on the other hand, accused the UPC of trying to turn the country into a communist state.[257] It also accused the KY and the Buganda government of committing atrocities against DP supporters in Buganda. For instance, the Leader of the Opposition (DP), Bataringaya, claimed that, "When the Kabaka Yekka won its election in the Lukiko, terrible atrocities were committed by the members of Kabaka Yekka against supporters of the Democratic Party. Arson, rape and murder occurred."[258] As late as September 1962, the DP asserted, many of its members were still being murdered, raped, terrorized and detained by KY and the Buganda government.[259]

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[255] Ingham, *Obote*: 76–77.

[256] See, Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly. Part III.* Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 515–575.

[257] See, for example, Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council.* Part I. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959: 196–202; *Proceedings of the Legislative Council.* Part II. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959: 143, 150, 157, 162–3; *Proceedings of the Legislative Council.* Part III. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959: 133–4; Ingham, *Obote*: 2, 53–56.

[258] Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council.* Part III: 518. See also, Ibid: 555–6.

The DP then tried to create a major rift between the UPC and its supporters in Bunyoro by claiming that the UPC was not prepared to hold the referendum in the two Lost Counties because it did not want to destabilize its alliance with the KY. One of the most vocal proponents of this view, Oda, had this to say during a parliamentary debate in September 1962: “In view of the fact that the whole country is anxious to know when the Government is going to implement the decision taken at the London Constitutional Conference regarding the two Lost Counties, would the Prime Minister enlighten the House as to what steps he is taking, and when he intends to implement the decision?”[260] This demand was made even before the country had obtained independence. Furthermore, the constitution stipulated that a referendum be held at least two years after independence.

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[259] Ibid: 535. See also, Ibid: 521. Here, Mr. Bataringaya pointed out that: “The UPC and Kabaka Yekka supporters in the villages are spreading a rumor that on or soon after the 9th October the DP supporters will lose their life and property, that the DP men will become the slaves of UPC and Kabaka Yekka supporters, that women and girls who support the DP will become play things of UPC, Kabaka Yekka men and young men, that possessions belonging to DP supporters will become public property.”

[260] Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly*. Part II. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 578. See also, Uganda Protectorate, *Standing Committee on the Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Africans for Admission to the Higher Posts in the Civil Service*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955: 1. See also, Ibid: 2–15; Uganda Protectorate, *Government on the Report of the Committee appointed by His Excellency the Governor to make Recommendations for the Advancement of Africans in Trade and Commerce*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955: 1–5; Uganda Protectorate, *Despatch from the Governor of Uganda to the Secretary of State for Colonies*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1956.

CHAPTER 4

The Obote Regime and Political Violence, 1962–1971

When Obote received the instruments of judicial legitimacy on October 9, 1962, he faced more problems than other leaders in the region:

> Neither Nyerere nor Kenyatta, for example, found himself, on the attainment of independence, governing a state with a constitution which, for all practical purposes, provided for the existence of a state (Buganda) and mini-states (Bunyoro-Kitara, Toro and Ankole) within the nation state of Uganda. None was faced with problem of exercising authority over kings whose powers were clearly defined by Agreements worked out with the colonial government. None, also, was faced with resolving the serious conflicts between the kingdom states and the non-kingdom states in his country.[1]

Similarly, K. Ingham observed that "Obote began the run-up to independence with greater political problems than were faced by most of the leaders of other African states.... In lieu of a sense of nationhood, however, most of the newly independent countries had an undisputed leader who brought them through the travails of the independence struggle and now provided a focus for their loyalties..... Obote…had never had… an unassailable position."[2]

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[1] Uzoigwe, ed., *Uganda: The Dilemma of Nationhood*: xiv.

[2] Ingham, *Obote:* 78. See also, Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda*: 8–13; Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*: 24–30.

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How Obote would handle the severe crisis of legitimacy would depend in part on his skills and qualities, and the nature of the heritage of the past. A brief background about Obote is, therefore, necessary. Obote was born on December 28, 1925, at Akokoro in Lango. His father, Stanley Opeto Anyanga, was a colonial chief in the same district. Obote received his education in Lango, Gulu High School (Acholi District), Mwiri Busoga College (Busoga District) and at Makerere University College (Buganda Kingdom). When he was in his second year at Makerere, Obote won two overseas scholarships: one to Britain to study economics and the other to the USA to study law. He then dropped out of Makerere to prepare for his studies overseas. However, when he was ready to travel overseas, the Provincial Commissioner withdrew the scholarships on the grounds that studies overseas would not prepare Obote to be of use to the country. This unexpected development frustrated Obote so much that he left for Kenya, where he worked as a clerk on a sugar plantation. While in Kenya, he became one of the founder members of the Kenyan African Union (KAU) and worked closely with some of the leading African nationalists such as Tom Mboya, Jomo Kenyatta and Dedan Kimathi. He also became involved in providing logistical assistance to the Mau Mau fighters. His involvement in the Mau Mau revolt led to his brief arrest and detention.[3]

As soon as he was released from detention in 1957, Obote returned to Uganda to join national politics. His return coincided with increased political violence in Buganda and political turbulence in Lango over the Land Apportionment Act. Immediately after he arrived in Lango, he was arrested with other leaders of the UNC for promoting anti-regime activities in the area. As soon as he was released, he was elected to represent his district in the Legislative Council. He began his new career on March 10, 1958.[4]

By the time he joined the Legislative Council, the country was preparing for elections of African representatives to the legislative council. The Buganda government, however, was violently opposed to any form of elections in Buganda. Unlike many non-Baganda African representatives in the Legislative Council who shared the widespread anti-Buganda sentiment, Obote sympathized with Buganda. Thus, one of the non-African representatives of the government in the Council, Professor K. Ingham, made the following observation about Obote:

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[3] *Uganda becomes Independent*. London: East Africa and Rhodesia, 1962: 11; Ingham, *Obote:* 11, 13, 22–37.

[4] Ingham, *Obote*: 11, 13, 22–37; J. Tumusiime, ed., *Uganda 30 Years, 1962–1992*. Kampala: Colourprint, 1992: 27.

> Unlike the other representatives, he felt no resentment towards the Baganda. He could recognize their powerful sense of national identity, their pride in their traditions…and their self-sufficiency. He was prepared to respect those feelings while realizing that they must somehow be curbed in order to create a unitary, independent Uganda. It was for this reason that he was prepared to accept the administration's decision to allow districts to decide for themselves whether they would adopt direct or indirect methods of elections in the forthcoming contest for seats in the new legislative council. Although his strong preference was for direct elections which would allow as many people as possible to cast their votes, he recognized that the only prospect of winning the co-operation of Buganda lay in permitting the kingdom's leaders to direct operations by using their local council, the lukiko, as an electoral college. Buganda's participation in the central legislature, was, in Obote's view, more important at that moment than a rigid insistence upon democratic principles.[5]

Obote's sympathy toward Buganda persuaded the step mother of Mutesa's wife, Mrs. Pulma Kissosonkole, to ask him to hold a private meeting with the Kabaka. He accepted the request and invited his colleague, Abu Mayanja, to the meeting.[6] This led to other meetings and finally to the informal alliance between the UPC and KY.[7]

This background information highlights a number of important points. First, many people from the kingdoms, including Kabaka Mutesa, did not recognize Obote as possessing the appropriate qualities to exercise political power because he came from a small ethnic group, Lango.[8] Indeed, as Mutesa suggested, the Baganda could not recognize a commoner or another king as a legitimate ruler in Buganda. In his view, only the Kabaka of Buganda had the appropriate qualities to be the ruler of

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[5] Ingham, *Obote*: 40–41. See also, Ibid: 50; "The Penal Code (Amendment No. 2) Bill, 1959," in Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*. Part II. Entebbe, 1959: 157, 162–5.

[6] See Ingham, *Obote*: 51, 52; Tumusiime, *Uganda 30 Years*: 28. Most of the earlier meetings took place before G. S. K. Ibingira was elected by the Ankole District Council to the Legislative Council. Despite this fact, G. S. K. Ibingira, *The Forging of an African Nation*. New York: Viking Press, 1973: 200–9, claimed that he was the one who introduced Obote to Mutesa.

[7] Ingham, *Obote*: 72–3, 75.

[8] See Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Letter to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 10.

Uganda because the Baganda were the most educated ethnic group in the country, the Baganda were the most populous ethnic group, the seat of political power was in Buganda and Buganda was the richest region in the country. This perspective suggested that, despite the fact that Obote was democratically elected to lead the country, his ethnic origin disqualified him from being accorded legitimacy in some parts of the country.[9] This problem was, above all, a logical legacy of seven long decades of colonial despotism and the colonial policies of "creating ethnic consciousness," "divide and rule," and "indirect rule," turning the state into a kleptocracy and transforming politics into a zero-sum game. All that Obote could do to overcome the heritage of the past was to try, against many odds, to win the support or consent of those who denied him legitimacy.[10]

Secondly, Obote's brief experience in politics in Uganda was perceived as inadequate to the task of national leadership. Indeed, many veteran politicians, including some of Obote's cabinet ministers, such as William W. Nadiope, Balaki Kirya and C.J. Obwangor, suggested that he lacked experience and was too young to lead the country. To these legitimation deficits was added the perception that Obote was not charismatic enough to mobilize and lead the country. What these perceptions ignored was the fact that the colonial era did not prepare anybody or a political party to assume political power in the country. They also forgot that no one, not even the most educated and most experienced individual, had the experience to rule the neocolonial state. This was so because the neocolonial state was different in some significant respects from the colonial state: unlike the latter, the rulers had to be accountable to the ruled; they had to protect the constitution that emphasized human rights and democratic pluralism; they had to balance the interests of those who had been treated favorably against those who had been treated unfavorably by the colonial regime; they had to hold together the conflict-laden political systems that combined federalism with unitary political arrangement; and they had to promote economic development of the country.[11]

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[9] Ibid: 11–12. See also, Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*: 68.

[10] See, for example, Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 11. An example of a work which maintained that Obote did not have adequate education to rule is Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*: 61.

[11] See B. Turyahikayo-Rugyema, "The Development of Mass Nationalism, 1952–1962," in Uzoigwe, ed., *Uganda: The Dilemma of Nationhood:* 248. See also, See Karugire, *A Political History*: 190. For a work that highlighted the difficulty of procuring legitimacy in post-colonial states in Africa, see Chabal, "Introduction: Thinking about politics in Africa," in Cabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa*: 6.

Against this background, Obote attempted to address part of the crisis of legitimacy by assembling a cabinet that included members of every ethnic, religious and major ideological groups. The result was that he won the consent and cooperation of every region in the country. This strategy also prolonged the lifespan of the UPC/KY alliance and made the post-colonial state despotically weak but infrastructurally strong. The state was despotically weak because it practiced some form of democracy and observed the constitution that emphasized the protection and promotion of human rights. It was infrastructurally strong because, among other things, the coalitions Obote constructed allowed the state to penetrate and control the society.[12]

The strategy Obote adopted to address the crisis, however, created problems which would undermine Obote's authority in the cabinet, party and the rest of the country. To begin with, most of the members of parliament Obote appointed to the cabinet were neither his close friends nor sympathizers. In fact, some of them were his most determined political challengers. For example, the Minister of Health and a prominent monarchist from Buganda, Dr. Lumu, publicly referred to Obote as "our crafty Prime Minister."[13] Although Obote ignored such challenges, because he believed that the benefits of keeping such ministers near him in the open and legal political arena outweighed the costs of throwing them out of cabinet, his opponents in the cabinet continued to undermine his authority.

Cabinet members also began to put forward conflicting demands from their social, ethnic, religious, political and economic constituencies. The result was that there were incessant rivalries and competitions within the cabinet. This forced Obote to spend much of his productive energy mediating the conflicts and trying to hold together the umbrella government. What this meant was that the regime could not focus its undivided energy and attention on meeting the high expectations that the masses associated with the granting of independence. The high expectations were based on the expectations generated by politicians who tried to procure legitimacy by promising virtually everything the masses desired. The method of procuring legitimacy, as such, had raised the expectations of the masses ever higher and higher. The granting of independence and competitive democratic experiment that preceded it had, therefore, generated political costs which both the regime and the politicians could not cover. It was, therefore, not surprising that the gap between expectations and what could be delivered was so large that it led to such a profound disappointment among the voting masses that they gradually began to withdraw their consent and obligations from both the politicians and the regime. This sharpened the legitimation crisis for the neocolonial state that had just launched its search for hegemony. It also began to erode the infrastructural power of the state.[14]

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[12] Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*: 30.

[13] See Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly*. Part III. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 520.

Another problem that arose from the strategy of appointing such a diverse cabinet was that it encouraged opposition to the UPC-KY alliance. Opposition came from three groups in the UPC: the radical republicans, the democrats and anti-Buganda. The first group saw the existence of the monarchies, or what it referred to as "political obsoletes," as an impediment to the struggle against feudalism, neocolonialism and imperialism. According to the group, the first step on the path to constructing a socialist project was an immediate and unapologetic divorce between the UPC and the KY. This meant that Obote had to drop his cabinet ministers who were members of the KY and terminate the alliance. The second group opposed the UPC-KY alliance because, in its view, the alliance did not promote liberal democracy. The group also saw KY members of parliament as having been handpicked by the Buganda establishment. Consequently, the group demanded an end to the alliance. The last group opposed the alliance because it believed that the alliance preserved the special and hegemonic status that Buganda had enjoyed during the colonial era. What it wanted, the group claimed, was the type of equality and justice which the UPC had advocated prior to the marriage with the KY. This meant that members of the KY should be dropped from the cabinet, the alliance should be terminated and the rest of the country should catch up with Buganda. Regardless of their self-advertised ideological complexions, these groups caused a lot of tension and instability in the cabinet, parliament and party.[15]

Faced with these crises, Obote relied primarily on those UPC and KY politicians who he believed had strong support in their respective constituencies. However, most of these people were dictatorial and had a lot in common with the colonial chiefs. The only differences were that they had some legitimacy among the masses and were not accountable to the regime.[16] Although Obote was aware of the behavior of these people, he needed their support because he had no support of his own in many parts of the country. By associating with these politicians, however, he sent a message to the masses that the regime sanctioned and thrived on dictatorship and nepotism and corruption. The result was that the masses began to withdraw their support and obligations to the regime. This forced Obote to try and discipline some of the politicians. However, his effort did not bring about the desired transformation because the politicians considered him an equal.[17]

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[14] Chabal, ed. *Political Domination*: 2–3, correctly noted that disillusionment with the meanings of independence was widespread in post-colonial Africa.

[15] Respondents No. 1, 20 former members of District Councils and 31 ordinary Ugandans, interviews by author, Gulu, Jinja, Kabale, Kitgum, Mbarara and Soroti, June–August, 1984; Respondents No. 2, four former high-ranking UPC members, interviews by author, London, December 16, 1992.

During this period, Obote also attempted to address the crisis of legitimacy he faced in Buganda by negotiating with Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Busoga to allow him to nominate the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, to the presidency of the country.[18] This was not an easy task because the leaders of the kingdoms and territory did not want Mutesa to lead the country. This was partly a result of the anti-Buganda sentiment that had accumulated during the colonial era. Bunyoro had another reason for opposing Obote's proposition: it feared that having Mutesa as the Head of State would make it practically impossible for the referendum to be held in the Lost Counties. When Obote approached the DP with the proposition, he encountered a similar opposition. The DP rejected the proposition because of the party's long-standing opposition to the hegemony of the monarchy in Buganda. However, after prolonged negotiations, Obote managed to win the approval of the kingdoms and territory. Thus, he reported:

> In 1963 the strength of the UPC was once again tested when the Party rejected any of its members to be elected to the office of the President, and instead adopted Sir Edward Mutesa for the office. This decision was not

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[16] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 190.

[17] See Ibid: 189–90. For discussions about ideological conflicts within UPC, see, for a start, Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 27–28; *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 240–1; Tumusiime, *Uganda 30 Years*: 28; Respondents No. 3, two former cabinet ministers in Obote II, conversation with author, Nairobi, July 8, 1992; A. A. Ginyera-Pinycwa, "On the Proposed Move to the Left in Uganda," *East African Journal*, February 1970: 26. See also, contribution to parliamentary debates by the Leader of Opposition, Batringaya, Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of National Assembly. Part II*: 519.

[18] Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 11–12.

> favoured by all the contenders to the office. The Rulers of Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Busoga met at Mbarara and selected a candidate for the office of the President. Their candidate was not Sir Edward. You will note that the Rulers were Bantu and yet they could not accept Sir Edward Mutesa, the Kabaka of Buganda, as President. The Democratic Party also did not accept Sir Edward, but the UPC succeeded once more to destroy tribal [*sic*] suspicions, and Sir Edward was elected President.[19]

According to Professor Mazrui, Obote's strategy "had potential value as an instrument either for conversion of Sir Edward Mutesa to a pan-Uganda vision or as a move towards complicating his perspectives and loyalties deeply enough to make the Ganda challenge to the U.P.C. less formidable."[20] As part of the compromise, Obote ensured that one of the most determined political opponents of Mutesa, Sir Wilberforce Nadiope (the Kyabazinga of Busoga), become the Vice-President in the same year, October 1963.

Obote's triumphant strategy had other important implications. To begin with, it made the Baganda monarchists quite happy because no one in the country was "above" the Kabaka. It also allayed the fear Buganda had in being a part of an independent Uganda. Furthermore, it suggested to Buganda that Obote was a trusted ally. The nomination of the Kabaka to the presidency, therefore, provided Obote with "indirect" legitimacy—predicated on the presence of the Kabaka in the government and as the Head of State. This meant that the quality and lifespan of the indirect legitimacy in Buganda would depend on the position and presence of the Kabaka in the central government.[21]

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[19] Milton Obote, *Myths and Realities: Letter to a London Friend* (1970): 5. Contrary to existing evidence, Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*: 23, asserted that "The leaders from western Uganda, including the rulers of the kingdoms themselves, were somewhat unsure of where they really belonged and to whom they should give their loyalties. But they trusted the Buganda leadership, especially that of Kabaka Mutesa who, they believed, would take care of their interests (closely linked with Buganda's) against any tide of those men from the north and east who were now installed in Entebbe, Uganda's administrative capital."

[20] Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda*: 11. See also, Obote, *Myths and Realities: Letter to a London Friend:* 8–13, Ingham, *Obote:* 78; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 188–191; Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*: 24–30.

[21] See Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda*: 8–13; Ingham, *Obote*: 78; Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 188–191. See also, Respondents No. 4, four prominent members of UPC-without Obote and three prominent members of DP, interviews by author, Kampala, August 1992.

The elevation of Mutesa to the Presidency, however, had two major unintended consequences. First, it provided the DP, which had opposed the ascendancy of Mutesa to the presidency, with a good opportunity to demand that Obote demonstrate his respect for the constitution by holding the proposed referendum in the Lost Counties on October 8, 1964. This demand received overwhelming support from the segment of the UPC that was opposed to the UPC-KY alliance. This demand was put forward quite forcefully by an independent member of parliament, Lobidra, within a month of the granting of independence:

> Mr. Speaker, I must say that I have always been and have ever been with the Government in supporting the U.P.C./Kabaka Yekka alliance. This alliance should not and must not make the Prime Minister fear fulfilling the recommendations of the Privy Councilors concerning the lost counties issue. (Hear! Hear!). I do not think it wise for the Prime Minister, in order to keep this alliance going to forget his duty in trying to establish a stronger unity and I do not think the Prime Minister himself will sell the two counties of Bunyoro to Buganda just because he wants to establish a stronger alliance between Kabaka Yekka and U.P.C.[22]

Secondly, it suggested to ordinary Banyoro that the proposed referendum was not likely to take place because Mutesa was now the President of the country. This caused a great deal of anxiety and instability in Bunyoro and in the Lost Counties.

The anxiety and demand for the referendum complicated life for Obote: if he delayed the referendum much later than October 8, 1964, he would lose the support of the UPC oligarchy in Bunyoro and that of the anti-UPC/KY alliance within the UPC. Such a development would not only erode the infrastructural power of the state in the country, it would also give the DP a good opportunity to undermine the legitimacy of the regime by suggesting that the regime had no regard for constitutional rule. On the other hand, if he called the referendum as demanded by the constitution, he could provoke an open war with the Buganda government. Such a war would wreck the UPC/KY alliance, deprive him of the indirect legitimacy he enjoyed in Buganda, pave way for the disintegration of the state and weaken the infrastructural power of the state in Buganda.[23]

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[22] See Uganda Government, *Uganda Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). First Session 1962–3.* Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 154–155.

As far as Mutesa was concerned, the growing demand for the referendum suggested that the referendum would be called fairly soon. More importantly, it suggested that he would lose the two counties because in the Lukiko elections of April 1962, the counties had voted overwhelmingly for the DP and against the Buganda establishment. In fact, the DP candidate in Buyaga was returned unopposed, while the DP candidate in Bugangaizzi won the seat with 83 % of the votes.[24] Worse still, for Mutesa and the Buganda establishment, the constitution allowed only those who had settled permanently in the area before the constitution came into effect to participate in the referendum. This meant that the results of the referendum would not be a lot different from those of the 1962 Lukiko elections in the Lost Counties. Losing the counties could have a number of possible consequences for him and Buganda. First, it could suggest that Buganda was divisible. This would encourage the other five lost counties to demand a similar referendum or to simply declare their autonomy from Buganda. It could also encourage other territories which contested their integration into the Buganda kingdom to declare their independence. Secondly, it could suggest to his loyal subjects that he was incapable of carrying out his most basic duties as the legitimate ruler: protecting the integrity of Buganda and the interests of its people. These basic duties meant keeping the counties as part of Buganda. If he failed to live up to his obligation, his subjects could withdraw legitimacy from him. Thirdly, it would hurt the pride of the Baganda, especially the militant ones. Since it is not uncommon that people who feel humiliated are more prone to violence than those whose pride is intact, the Baganda could resort to violence to maintain their dignity and keep the counties.[25]

Faced with this major challenge to his legitimacy and that of his kingdom, Mutesa, who had been preparing for the referendum since early 1962, temporarily relocated his Buganda administration to the contested counties. This took place in the second half of 1963. As soon as he arrived, a reign of terror descended on the counties: many Banyoro were terrorized, raped and murdered.[26] The overriding objectives of this wave of political violence were to prevent the Banyoro from voting in the referendum; make the place so unstable that the referendum would be canceled or its results would be hotly contested; and demonstrate to the Baganda that the Kabaka was determined to protect the territorial integrity of Buganda. Thus, Kabaka Mutesa explained that:

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[23] See *Uganda Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). First Session 1962–3*: 154–155; Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 588; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 11.

[24] See Mujaju, "The Illusion of Democracy in Uganda, 1955–1966": 94.

[25] Respondents No. 5, two prominent Baganda monarchists, conversation with author, London, December 5, 1993; Tumsiime, ed, *Uganda 30 years*: 33; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 11.

> I was determined to retain the land that had been part of my kingdom as long as anyone could remember.... It would be disingenuous to pretend that I forgot or was unaware of the referendum. I hoped to develop the area, persuade many Baganda to live there and, by bringing roads and schools and better prices for their crops, persuade the inhabitants that life as part of Buganda was tolerable—even pleasant. A very successful tea plantation was in fact established. With at least two years to go, it seemed possible that we might make the atmosphere more friendly, but if not we would use the land and have more Baganda there when it came to a showdown.... As the project grew so did the camp, until scattered around the area there were up to 8,000 men, mostly ex-Servicemen, but not necessarily Baganda. The secretaries complained, the Ministers were not too pleased at having to drive 200 difficult miles to see me, but roads and agricultural improvements did appear. There were a few clashes. A village which only opened its market on Saturdays decided to open on a Sunday in order to hold a meeting to whip up feelings against me. I thought a firm, dramatic move was needed to show that I was in earnest, so I had it burnt down…[27]

As the day of reckoning drew closer, Obote successfully persuaded ten DP and KY parliamentarians to join the UPC. Obote's strategy was intended to provide the UPC with a comfortable majority in parliament so that it could vote successfully on the referendum. It was also intended to weaken the challenge to his legitimacy during this turbulent period in Buganda. The parliamentarians who joined the UPC belonged to three related groups. The first comprised those who were quite disillusioned with internal factionalism and lack of leadership in the DP and KY. The second comprised those who felt that they could serve their constituencies and the country better by working with and for the government.[28] The third comprised parliamentarians who saw politics as the best avenue to improve their status in society. When it became clear that the parties that sent them to parliament were disintegrating and could not guarantee them access to resources and influence controlled by the state, they rented their support to the highest bidder: the government.[29]

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[26] See Tumusiime, ed, *Uganda 30 years*: 33; E. Mutesa, *The Desecration of My Kingdom*. London: Constable, 1967: 168–170; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–31, 1964: 168C.

[27] Mutesa, *The Desecration of My Kingdom*: 168–170. According to *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–31, 1964: 168C, the Lukiko had resettled an estimated 20,000 Buganda ex-servicemen in the two Lost Counties.

The presence of the new group of parliamentarians in the UPC boosted the strength of the capitalist camp within the UPC so much that it toppled the socialist camp from position of prominence in the party. This allowed Grace Ibingira to become the Secretary-General of the party during the UPC Annual Delegates Conference held at Pece Stadium in Gulu in April 1964.[30] The victory of the capitalist camp also resulted from the terror and intimidation the UPC establishment employed against the supporters of the socialist camp. This was further reinforced by the support Obote gave to the victorious camp.[31]

The repression by the regime, however, did not persuade the camp to abandon its "revolutionary" struggles against neocolonial capitalism. This forced Obote to ally openly with the capitalist camp. A number of reasons accounted for Obote's move from the left to the right. First, Obote's political survival, especially in Buganda—where tensions were growing on the eve of the referendum—depended on the support of the capitalist camp whose members constituted the overwhelming majority of active politicians in the country. Secondly, he had failed to control the socialists, who, in the traditions of orthodox Marxism, saw the strikes by labor in the country as the beginning of the destruction of capitalist domination of the society. Thirdly, he needed to assure the Asians, the financial institutions and the West that he was not a communist or a socialist. This assurance was important if he were to attract more economic assistance and international investments to spur economic development. Without such assistance, the severe crisis of legitimacy would intensify. Finally, the Cold War, that was ravaging the neighboring state of the Congo, heightened the political risk of being perceived by the West as a socialist or a communist in the region. This risk was exacerbated by the rumor that the leader of the capitalist camp and a close ally of the USA administration, Grace Ibingira, was an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This rumor, in turn, suggested the need for Obote to associate closely with the capitalist camp so that the camp would not acquire autonomous political space and voice.[32]

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[28] Respondents No. 6, three officials at the UPC secretariat and four officials at the DP secretariat, conversation with author, Kampala, May 18, 1985; Respondents No. 7, two long-serving and prominent members of UPC, interview by author, London, December 6, 1993; J. M. Lee, "Buganda's position in Federal Uganda," *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, III, 1965: 165; Obote, *Myths and Realities: Letter to a London Friend*: 6.

[29] G. S. Ibingira, "Human Rights Violations Excesses: Why Uganda?" in USCF, *Three Papers Presented before the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*. Washington, USCR, 1990: 14. See also, Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*: 30–31.

[30] Respondents No. 8, two prominent members of NRM who were very active members of UPC, interview by author, Kampala, August, 1992; Respondent No. 9, former high-ranking member of the socialist camp in UPC, telephone conversation with author, London, December 10, 1993; Ingham, *Obote*: 93; Mamdani, *Imperialism*: 27–8; Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda:* 76–77.

[31] Respondent No. 9; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 240–1.

However, Obote's strategy of controlling the capitalist camp in the UPC did not work because immediately after the camp emerged victorious from the Annual Delegates Conference, it began to plot to topple Obote from power. There were many reasons for the plot. First, the leadership of the camp felt that it was an insult for a Nilotic to rule over "the most advanced" and biggest linguistic group in the country: the Bantu.[33] This Bantu nationalist argument was advanced by the leadership of the camp despite the fact that the "Bantu" had never operated as a single political or social group in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Uganda. Indeed, Mutesa's strongest political opponents in Buganda were Baganda members of the DP. Similarly, the Bantu leaders of the other kingdoms and the territory of Busoga did not want the country to be led by a fellow Bantu: Kabaka Mutesa. Likewise, Ibingira and his strongest political opponent within the UPC, John Kakonge, were Bantu.[34] Another problem with the argument was that the uneven underdevelopment made it difficult to refer to the Bantu or the political "south" as an economic block. For example, Gertzel pointed out that "almost by any measure the poorest districts in the late 1950s were Ankole and Kigezi in the southwest; and West Nile and Madi in the far northwest."[35] This state of uneven underdevelopment remained essentially unchanged in the 1960s. Similar views could be expressed about the myth of linguistic solidarity of the Nilotics or the political "north."[36]

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[32] Respondents No. 10, two professors at Makerere University who had supported the socialist camp in UPC, conversation with author, Kampala, August 1992; Ingham, *Obote*: 93; Mamdani, *Imperialism*: 27–28; Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda*: 76–77.

[33] See Mutibwa, *Uganda since Independence*: 22–23; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 10; Kasozi, *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*: 62. At times, this linguistic *cum* superiority argument was presented in terms of the south verses the north of Lake Kyoga.

[34] Obote, *Myths and Realities: Letter to a London Friend*: 11.

In any event, the leadership of the capitalist camp tried to invent Bantu consciousness as a vehicle to control the state by demanding more powers for the kingdoms and the territory of Busoga. This strategy, however, neglected other realities which would undermine this project. The DP in Buganda, for example, did not want the power of the Buganda government to be increased. Similarly, the Bantu peoples in Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole did not want more power to be given to the monarchies.[37]

The only way Obote could be overthrown from power, the leadership of the capitalist camp maintained, was to forge an alliance with a section of the army. The section of the army it identified for the project was that led by the Chief of Defence Forces (CDF), Brigadier Shaban Opolot. This segment of the army was chosen because its leader was married to the daughter of the former Chief Minister of Buganda. He was also not a supporter of Obote. The junior leaders of this segment of the army included some Baganda, Banyankole and Etesot officers: Major Senkooto, Major Kaku, Major Kanutie, Major Katabarwa (Ibingira's brother), Major Ssenkoto, Major Ogwang, Captain Kamya and Captain Mugambe.[38]

While this plot was still at a rudimentary and uncoordinated stage, more DP and KY members of parliament joined the UPC in August 1964. The presence of "new" MPs on the government side made Obote feel strong enough to introduce the Lost Counties Referendum Bill to parliament.[39] On August 21, 1964, Mutesa, Katikiro Kintu and the rest of the Buganda government responded by passing a resolution to delegitimize the Bill. The resolution stated that the referendum would not be held because

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[35] Gertzel, "The politics of Uneven Development": 16.

[36] Ibid: 36.

[37] See Ginyera-Pinycwa, "On the Proposed Move to the Left in Uganda": 23–29; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 17–21.

[38] General Tito Okello, Former Commander of the Defence forces (CDF) and former Head of State, interview by author, Nairobi, July 22, 1992; Ginyera-Pinycwa, "On the Proposed Move to the Left in Uganda": 23–29; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 17–21; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 525–6; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 20–27; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1966: 593C; October 1–31, 1966: 640AB.

[39] Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 6; Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*: 30–1.

Buganda's boundaries had been decided and confirmed by the 1900, 1955 and 1961 Agreements. It also threatened to make the Lost Counties too unstable to allow the referendum to take place. If the referendum went ahead, the resolution declared, Buganda would not recognize its validity.[40]

As the referendum crisis escalated, a corresponding crisis rocked the UPC/KY alliance. As Obote explained, the UPC violated the spirit of the alliance by opening offices throughout Buganda.[41] Thereafter, Obote told a delegation of UPC from Buganda that he would ask the UPC Executive Committee to dissolve the alliance.[42] Accordingly, on August 24, 1964, he formally dissolved the alliance.[43] After the formal dissolution of the alliance, the remaining members of the KY moved on to the opposition benches.[44]

The dissolution of the alliance was followed by the passage of the referendum Bill in September 1964. When President Mutesa was asked to sign it into law, he refused to do so because it would undermine his legitimacy and that of Buganda. The only way out of the stalemate was to allow the Vice-President, as stipulated by the constitution, to sign the Bill. Accordingly, the Vice-President signed it into law.[45] The unwillingness of Mutesa to sign the Bill suggested to members of other ethnic groups that he was now acting exclusively as the Kabaka of Buganda, not as the President of Uganda. From that moment, Mutesa was no longer regarded in many parts of the country as the Head of State.

During this period, the Buganda government reinforced its violent threat to the referendum by taking the Uganda government to court over the provision that required only those who had settled permanently in counties before independence to vote in the referendum. However, the High Court ruled in favor of the Uganda government.[46] At that point, the Buganda government challenged the legitimacy of both the constitution and the High Court by appealing directly to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in London. Once more, it lost the case. These losses, on the judicial front, humiliated, angered and frustrated the Buganda government so much that it employed terror against the Banyoro in Buganda.

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[40] See Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 17.

[41] See Obote, *Myths and Realities:* 6.

[42] Ibid.

[43] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* August 1–31, 1964: 132B.

[44] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1964: 149A–150B.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 180.

It also attacked the Uganda police and destroyed some property of the Uganda government.[47]

Against this background, the referendum was held on November 4, 1964. As expected, the overwhelming majority of the voters decided to reunite with Bunyoro.[48] The result of the referendum provoked more political instability and political violence in Buganda. In the Lost Counties, for example, many Banyoro, including women and children, were massacred. According to the *Report of the Human Rights Commission into Violations of Human Rights in Uganda*, President Mutesa was accused of personally murdering eight unarmed Banyoro traders at Ndaiga Market.[49] Mutesa explained how and why, in his view, the violence escalated:

> The Baganda feeling had not softened over the years. Land has always been the subject upon which we could be excited or angered, and mobs roamed Kampala looking for Banyoro. The Lukiko was held responsible for this disaster. We launched an appeal against the legality of the circumstances of the referendum. Far from uniting the country, Obote had decisively split it, and I can only say here, as so often, that he must have known what he was doing; the results of his actions cannot have come as a surprise. In this case he purposefully antagonised the ablest and the richest unit of his country, presumably already planning to destroy them as he had destroyed the party that represented them. His method of building a united nation has been to destroy those that do not agree with him.[50]

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[47] See Obote, *Myths and Realities:* 5–6; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1964: 132C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–31, 1964: 168C; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda: 1900–1986*: 416; Mittelman, *Ideologies and Politics in Uganda:* 78.

[48] See Obote, *Myths and Realities:* 5–6; Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 588; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1964: 132C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–31, 1964: 168C; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda:* 416; Mittelman, *Ideologies and Politics in Uganda:* 78; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–31, 1964: 187A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1965: 275C.

[49] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Human Rights Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 22. See also, Adoko, *Uganda Crisis.* 7.

[50] Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 180. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1964: 132B; September 1–31, 1964: 149A–150B; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 6; Ingham, *Obote*: 96; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1966: 450BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1965: 225B; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949–1962*: 56–57; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1965: 277B, 334B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1965: 365B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1965: 262A.

The outcome of the referendum forced some Baganda to direct their discontent and frustration at some members of the Lukiko. In fact, they withdrew their support of the Buganda government. Consequently, Katikiro Michel Kintu dissolved his (Buganda) government on November 7, 1964.[51] Thereafter, the Buganda Lukiko declared the results of the referendum invalid because of the existing state of anarchy at the time the referendum was held. This declaration was followed by another wave of violence directed against the Banyoro in Buganda.[52]

Armed Baganda also attacked and killed some police officers and destroyed a number of police stations and property belonging to the Uganda government. According to G.F. Engholm and Mazrui, 2 days after the referendum, 3 people were killed, 20 were injured and 38 were arrested in Kampala city. The police responded to the anti-regime violence by killing 7 and wounding 39 Baganda at Nakulabye on November 10, 1964.[53] During this period, the army killed 12 school children in Kisubi.[54]

As the violence escalated on April 30, 1965, the regime passed a law banning any ethnically based political party from operating outside its region. This repressive law was intended to prevent the KY from trying to mobilize support from other kingdoms. It was also intended to appease the leaders of the other kingdoms and the territory who were not happy that some supporters of the KY were wearing *Kabaka Yekka* T-shirts in their kingdoms and territory. By this time, more members of KY, including Dr. Ali Kisekka, had crossed over to the UPC. Six more members of the DP, including the leader of the opposition, Basil Bataringaya, had also joined the UPC. The mass desertions of the DP and KY increased the strength of the UPC in parliament: UPC: 73; KY: 8; DP: 9; and Independent 1.[55] Although these MPs had crossed over to the UPC without the consent of those who had elected them, the UPC felt strong enough to try and lower ethnic consciousness and raise national consciousness by administrative fiat: it banned ethnic organizations, including the KY.[56] According to the Secretary-General of UPC, Ibingira, the KY was banned because it had become a threat to national security, national stability and national unity.[57]

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[51] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1964: 187B; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 11; Engholm and Mazrui, "Violent Constitutionalism,": 589.

[52] Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 425–428.

[53] Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 588. See also, Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 86.

[54] See Tumusiime, *Uganda 30 years*: 33; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 22, 369.

[55] See Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 19; Ingham, *Obote*: 96.

By banning the KY, the government was following closely in the footsteps of the colonial government: legalizing political repression and violence to address the severe crisis of legitimacy. As during the colonial period, political violence against the regime challengers was justified in terms of national security, law and order, national stability and national unity. Political violence against members of the outlawed KY, however, was restrained. This was due to a number of factors: the presence of Mutesa as the Head of State; the presence of many former KY members in the government; members of the banned party were busy fighting among themselves; and the regime had effectively manipulated public opinion outside Buganda against this fragmented and "leaderless" group.[58]

The banning of the KY, however, did not deter its supporters from intensifying their opposition to Obote. In fact, all that the outlawing of the party did was to drive its members from the open and legal arena to an underground and an "illegal" arena, where they began to plot to overthrow Obote. To achieve this objective, the disgruntled members of the KY and the anti-Obote faction of the UPC began to coordinate their activities. The first strategy they adopted was to circulate rumors that Obote and his communist allies, supported by Kenya and Tanzania, were plotting to assassinate Mutesa and other capitalist-minded Ugandans. One of the architects of the rumor, the Acting Katikiro, A. D. Lubowa, also claimed that Obote and his communist allies were telling the masses that their lives would improve upon the overthrow of the imperialist-led governments of Buganda and Uganda.[59] The rumors were intended to strengthen and disguise the plot by the leadership of the capitalist camp and the Buganda government to topple Obote. The coup plotters also hoped that the rumors would appeal to the Western liberal democracies, especially those actively involved in the war against an invented communism in the Congo, to help them overthrow Obote from power.[60]

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[56] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 189–90; Ingham, *Obote* : 96.

[57] See Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*: 429; *Africa Research Bulletin,* April 1–30, 1965: 225B, 333B; *Africa Research Bulletin,* September 1–30, 1965: 365B.

[58] Respondents No. 11, 10 long-serving members of UPC and 15 long-serving members of DP, conversation with author, Arua, Gulu, Jinja, Kabale, Kasese and Mbarara, June–August 1984; Respondents No. 12, two prominent and active members of UPC, interview by author, London, December 12, 1992.

[59] See Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 17; Respondents No. 13, seven prominent members of the Conservative Party (CP), interview by author, Kampala, August 18, 1985.

By May 1965, the plot to overthrow Obote was actively being pursued by Brigadier Opolot and his group in the army. This group planned to assassinate Obote during the Independence celebration on October 9, 1965. On the eve of the celebration, Majors Kaku, Kanutie, Katabarwa and Ssenkoto drew arms and ammunition from Mbuya Army Headquarters. This incident was immediately reported to Obote by a junior officer who had witnessed it. The speed at which the information was relayed to Obote made it possible for him to foil the plot without bloodshed.[61]

Despite this major setback, the group continued to plan to overthrow Obote. This time, Opolot focused his attention on transferring one of the most loyal supporters of Obote, Lieutenant Colonel Okoya, from Buganda. It was hoped that the transfer would make it easier for the anti-Obote forces to take over Kampala. This plan was to be reinforced by removing another strong supporter of Obote, Colonel Amin, from the army. The latter plan was to be executed by the political wing of anti-Obote forces. However, when Opolot transferred Okoya in November 1965, Obote nullified it. During this period, Obote also made it extremely difficult for the Opolot faction in the army to gain access to the army armory. This latest development compelled the anti-Obote segment of the army to request President Mutesa to quietly order arms and ammunition through a Kampala-based firm, Gailey and Roberts.[62]

While the anti-Obote forces in the army were still plotting to topple Obote, the anti-Obote forces in the UPC camp escalated their campaign by accusing Obote of corruption and plotting to overthrow Mutesa from the presidency. This strategy was intended to undermine the credibility of Obote, make the country too unstable to govern and provide a justification for a military takeover. The accusation centered around Uganda's involvement in the Congo crisis.[63]

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[60] Respondents No. 13, seven prominent members of the Conservative Party (CP), Kampala, August 18, 1985; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 27–8; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 525–6; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 20–27; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1966: 593C; October 1–31, 1966: 640AB. T. K. Hopkins, “Non-alignment,” in Uganda Argus, *Thoughts of an African Leader*. Kampala, Longman, 1970: 65, maintained that Obote was generally perceived in the West as having a pro-communist leaning.

[61] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 2–4.

[62] Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 2–4.

The Congo crisis had its immediate origins in the events that followed the granting of independence to Congo (Democratic Republic of Congo) on June 30, 1960. Immediately after independence, Congolese troops mutinied and killed some Belgian officers. In July, 1960, Moise Tshombe, the premier of the Katanga Province of Congo, declared that his province had seceded from Congo. Thereafter, he successfully appealed to the Belgians and other Western states with extensive interests in the minerals in the province to provide military assistance against the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. The Prime Minister, who was a devoted Pan-Africanist and a socialist, attempted to counter Tshombe's actions by calling on independent African states to attend an emergency meeting in Leopoldville (Kinshasa) from August 25–31, 1960. The meeting was attended by prominent member states of the Casablanca and Monrovia wings of the Pan-African movement. The meeting, however, did not provide Lumumba with adequate support to prevent the West, especially the British MI6, the Belgian paratroopers and army, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), under President Eisenhower, from supporting the rebels and planning the assassination of Prime Minister Lumumba. This prompted him to appeal to Russia for military support.[64]

At that point, the UN, under the leadership of its Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, sent a peace-keeping force to the country that was engulfed by anarchy and instability. The role of the UN was even more contradictory when its troops provided tacit support to Tshombe to capture and take Lumumba to Katanga, where he was murdered in 1961.

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[63] Respondents No. 14, three cabinet ministers in Obote II and two high-ranking UPC members, conversation with author, Nakasero, Kampala, December 18, 1984; Respondents No. 15, two prominent DP members of parliament from Buganda, conversation with author, Wandegeya, Kampala, April 17, 1985.

[64] See S. Hempstone, *Rebels, Mercenaries and Dividens: The Katanga Story*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962: 3–230; I. Kabongo, "Myths and Realities of the Zairian Crisis," in Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *The Crisis in Zaire:* 27–50; A. Ajala, *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1974: 22–33; "MI6 and the death of patrice Lumumba," *The BBC*, April 2, 2013; Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Patrice Lumumba: the most important assassination of the twentieth century, *The Guardian*, London, January 17, 2011; Adam Hochschild, "An Assassination's Long Shadow," *The New York Time*s, January 16, 2011; Scott Shane, "Lawrence R. Devlin, 86, CIA officer Who Balked on a Congo Plot, Is Dead," *The New York Times*, December 12, 2008.

By 1964, fighting between the pro-Tshombe and the pro-Lumumba forces had escalated throughout most of Congo. During that time, the pro-Lumumba force, led by Christopher Gbenye, received military support from China, Algeria and the Soviet Union. In November 1964, the West, in particular Belgium, Britain and the USA, provided more military, political and financial assistance to Tshombe.[65]

As the Cold War became increasingly hot and bloody in the Congo, many Pan-Africanists, especially those who belonged to the Casablanca camp, condemned the West for extending its violent global hegemony to the region. They also criticized the role the UN had played in the ensuing crisis. To contain the situation and protect its ideological position, the camp resolved to assist the pro-Lumumba group in Stanleyville (Kisangani). This assistance, however, was to be provided clandestinely to avoid creating more tensions between the radical (the Casablanca) and the conservative (the Brazzaville) factions of the Pan-African movement.[66]

In early 1965, Prime Minister Obote, President Kenyatta (Kenya) and President Nyerere (Tanzania) worked out a plan to provide clandestine military assistance to the pro-Lumumba forces. The Ugandan Army Chief of Staff, Colonel Idi Amin, was assigned the task of co-ordinating both financial and military assistance to the rebels. In order to keep the operation discreet, Obote did not disclose most of the plan to President Mutesa, the cabinet or the parliament.[67]

In February 1966, a copy of Amin's bank account, showing tens of thousands of dollars that had been banked in a period of less than 2 months, was clandestinely handed over to the Secretary-General of KY, Daudi Ochieng. This information was provided to Ochieng because he was a very close friend of President Mutesa and the most vocal critic of corruption in the parliament. In fact, he had earlier wrongfully accused two cabinet ministers, Dr. Lumu and Ngobi, of corruption. The two ministers were kept under house arrest until they were cleared of the allegations. He had also wrongfully accused Roger Mukasa (Chairman of the Coffee Board) and Kalangi Ntende (Chairman of Lint Marketing) of corruption and nepotism.[68]

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[65] Ajala, *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects*: 22–33; "MI6 and the death of patrice Lumumba," *The BBC*, April 2, 2013; Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Patrice Lumumba: the most important assassination of the twentieth century, *The Guardian*, London, January 17, 2011; Adam Hochschild, "An Assassination's Long Shadow," *The New York Time*s, January 16, 2011; Scott Shane, "Lawrence R. Devlin, 86, CIA officer Who Balked on a Congo Plot, Is Dead," *The New York Times*, December 12, 2008.

[66] See Ajala, *Pan-Africanism* Ibid.

[67] See Ingham, *Obote*: 103; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 28–36; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 12; Z. Cervenka, *The Unfinished Quest for Unity: Africa and the OAU*. New York: African Publishing Company, 1977: 1–11.

While Obote was away on a tour of northern Uganda, Ochieng introduced a motion in parliament to investigate the allegations that Obote, two cabinet ministers, Nekyon and Onama, and the Army Chief of Staff, Colonel Amin, were plotting to overthrow the constitution; that they had engaged in illegal trafficking of gold from Zaire; and that they had benefited illegally from the gold. Although the UPC parliamentarians had decided not to support Ochieng's motion, Ibingira, with the support of some government ministers such as Lumu, Kirya, Magezi, Obwangor and Ngobi, reversed this decision. During the debate, Abu Mayanja urged the parliament to appoint a commission of inquiry into the allegations.[69] The motion also demanded the immediate suspension of Amin from the army pending the report of the commission. The motion was overwhelmingly passed.[70]

Although the motion was passed, John Kakonge, the leader of the UPC socialist camp, told the parliament that the motion was a political ploy aimed at justifying a military coup that had been planned by the Ibingira and the Opolot group: "[F]or the first time, this House has seen Ministers clash here.... Punishing Colonel Amin will not solve any trouble. I have heard other versions of what is to bring trouble; it is not Amin, but Brigadier Opolot.... It is said that one big group of ministers is supporting Opolot to topple the Government, and that they regard Amin as a stumbling block to them…"[71]

The support that the motion received in parliament reflected three conflicting perspectives on the objectives of the motion. The first was "a vote of confidence perspective," shared by the majority of the parliamentarians, including Abu Mayanja, Onama, Martin Aroma, Sam Odaka and former members of the DP and KY who had just joined the UPC. These people believed that, although Obote, Amin and the two ministers were quite innocent, only the findings of an independent commission would clear their image and restore the credibility of the government. The vote by this group, therefore, was a vote of confidence in Obote, Amin and the two ministers. The second was the role of parliamentary opposition perspective. Members of this group voted for the motion primarily to discredit Obote and the government, not to topple him from power. In fact, these people were simply carrying out the tradition of members of opposition whose sole responsibility was to make the incumbents lose credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the electorates and the international community. The third was "the coup *cum* vote of no confidence perspective." This perspective, shared primarily by Daudi Ochieng and a few key cabinet ministers, saw the motion as an opportunity to discredit and overthrow the Obote regime.[72]

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[68] Respondents No. 10, two professors at Makerere University, former supporters of the socialist camp in UPC, Kampala, August 1992; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 43, 49.

[69] Cited in Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 37. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1966: 469ABC; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda:* 429–32.

[70] See Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 14; *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1966: 469ABC; Mittelman, *Ideologies and Politics in Uganda:* 79–80; Ingham, *Obote*: 103.

[71] Cited in Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 51–2.

The passage of the bill and the violent debate that resulted from it created much anxiety in Kampala. The situation was exacerbated by rumors about an impending military coup. Despite this growing anxiety in Kampala, Obote continued his tour of the north. On February 7, 1966, President Mutesa, Ibingira and Opolot discovered that the coup was not developing as planned. At that point, Opolot determined that the only way the coup could succeed was to ambush Obote on his way to Kampala. Unfortunately for the plotters, Obote was not in a hurry to return to Kampala. The longer Obote delayed in the north, the more restless and nervous the plotters became. To reduce this growing anxiety, Opolot sent some of his officers to the north to ask Obote to return immediately because the situation was getting out of control in Kampala. In the message, Opolot also requested an emergency Defence Council meeting to discuss the allegation that Amin was planning to assassinate him (Opolot). However, by the time the officers arrived, Obote had already been alerted of the plan to ambush him on his way to Kampala. Consequently, he refused to return to Kampala as requested. Obote made Opolot feel even more threatened when he suggested that the Defence Council meeting should take place in Arua, Amin's home district.[73]

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[72] See, Ingham, *Obote*: 104; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 28–55; Engholm and Mazrui, "Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda": 595; Respondents No. 16, seven former members of parliament: three (UPC) and four (DP), interviews by author, Kampala, August 1992.

[73] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 24, 1992; Lieutenant Colonel Francis Agwa, former Joint Chairman of Security Committee, conversation with author, Koigi Apartments, Nairobi, September 15, 1986; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 58–9.

Obote's decision not to return to Kampala as requested made the coup plotters extremely restless. The situation became even more tense because Obote was still able to control almost the entire army through Lieutenant Colonel Okoya and Colonel Amin. At that point, President Mutesa approached the British High Commissioner for troops. However, the British government turned down the request.[74]

On February 11, 1966, a UPC delegation from Kampala approached Obote in the north and asked him to relinquish power to Okoya until the situation in Kampala had improved. Obote responded: "What powers have I to give the Government to Okoya? Why must it be Okoya and not Colonel Amin? Colonel Amin is senior to Okoya as you know…"[75] What this mission achieved was to make Obote and Amin suspect that Okoya and other Acoli officers were collaborating with their opponents.[76]

On February 12, 1966, Obote discreetly returned to Kampala. Two days later, he met with his cabinet and asked those who believed the allegations that he had participated in gold trafficking to resign. None of them resigned. In the meeting, Obote and the cabinet agreed to appoint a Judicial Commission, as recommended by parliament. On February 16, 1966, he disclosed the names of the members of the Commission: Sir C. de Lestang (High Court of Appeal of East Africa), Justice E. Miller (Judge of the High Court of Kenya) and Justice A. Saidi (High Court of Tanzania). Both the press and Obote's opponents acknowledged that the Commission was highly competent and independent.[77]

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[74] Respondents No. 3, two former cabinet ministers in Obote II, Nairobi, July 8, 1992; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 9–10; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of the UNO*: 17; Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 185–6.

[75] Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 62. Similar views were expressed by Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Agwa, conversation with author, Nairobi, September 15, 1986.

[76] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Brigadier Basilio Okello, Brigade Commander of the 10th Brigade, conversation with author, Kololo, Kampala, May 14, 1985; Respondents No. 17, six former senior UNLA officers, interview by author, London, December 8, 1994.

[77] The Commission began its work on March 7, 1966. Among those who appeared before the Commission were: Daudi Ocheng, General Olenga (the leader of the military wing of the Congolese rebel group), Mr. Nyati (political leader of the Congolese rebel group), and Army Chief of Staff, Idi Amin. Obote provided a statement to the Commission through his Counsel. The Commission concluded that the main cause of the rumors was an attempt by the government to provide a clandestine support to the rebels in Congo. It found no wrong doing on the part of Obote, Amin and the two ministers. See Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 64–5; Tumusiime, ed., *Uganda 30 Years, 1962–1992*: 34; *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28,

While Obote was attending a conference in Nairobi from February 17, 1966 to February 19, 1966, he received a message that a coup had been planned for February 22, 1966. On February 22, 1966 (at 5.00 am), he summoned his close aides and planned the arrest of the coup leaders: Ibingira, Magezi, Lumu, Ngobi and Kirya. The only way the five ministers could be arrested at the same time, Obote and his aides reasoned, was to call a cabinet meeting at the State House in Entebbe. Accordingly, a cabinet meeting was called. Toward the end of the meeting, the police, under direct order from Obote, stormed the Cabinet Room and without arrest warrants, arrested the five ministers. The ministers, all of them Bantu, were rushed to the High Court and then deported to Patiko Prison in Gulu.[78]

They were subsequently charged with conducting themselves in a manner dangerous to peace and good order in Uganda; inciting enmity between the people of Uganda and the Government; and intriguing against the power and authority of the Uganda government.[79] The arrest and detention of the five ministers created the illusion that the regime was at war with the Bantu. The attempt to explain the action taken against the ministers as a contest between the Bantu and the Nilotics was an illusion because, while some Bantu people were opposed to Obote, others stood firmly by him throughout the turbulent period. Similarly, some of the most vocal opponents of Obote, including Daudi Ochieng, were Nilotics.

While the illusion continued to permeate the political arena, the High Court ruled that the ex-ministers should be released because the arrest was carried out without valid warrants. The government respected the independence of the court: brought the five ex-ministers to Entebbe and released them. As soon as this legal requirement was met, the government rearrested and detained the five men under the Emergency Order which had been imposed in Buganda. This time, the arrest and detention without trial was legal because of the Emergency Order. This form of political violence highlighted one of the pitfalls of defining the phenomenon as an illegal act of violence by either the state or non-state actors.[80]

1966: 469B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1966: 491B; Mazrui, "Privilege and Protests as Integrative Factors: the case of Buganda's status in Uganda," in Rotberg and Mazrui, eds., *Protest and Power in Black Africa:* 1072–3.

[78] See Engholm and Mazrui, "Violent Constitutionalism,": 595; Ingham, *Obote*: 108; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 15–16; Tumusiime, ed., *Uganda 30 Years:* 34; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 70, 128.

[79] See Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 15–16.

[80] See Engholm and Mazrui, "Violent Constiututionalism,": 595–6.

This wave of repressive measures was intended to terrorize Obote's opponents into silence, thereby providing the regime with security and stability. Unfortunately for Obote, the measures made him feel more threatened because his opponents who were still at large appeared, to Obote and his close circle of supporters, to be even more determined to topple him. Rather than wait to be toppled, Obote carried out his own coup on February 22, 1966 by taking "over all powers of the Government of Uganda" to preserve "national stability and national security."[81] In this instance, Obote justified escalating violence against his perceived challengers by focusing attention on the elusive, but cherished, notions of national security and national interests. The justifications he provided implied an affinity between the aspirations of the masses and the survival of his rule. From that moment, Obote's interests and security would be presented as national interests and national security. According to this legitimist ideology, political violence by the regime was justified because it protected "national security" and "national interests." This ideology eroded the distinction between the government and the state, and between Obote and the state.[82]

On February 24, 1966, Obote dismissed President Mutesa and suspended all the relevant clauses in the 1962 constitution that dealt with the powers, rights and privileges of the office of the president and vice-president. Once again, he justified his actions in terms of national security, national unity, stability, national dignity and national interests:

> Events and unwelcome activities of certain leading personalities have led me to take drastic measures to ensure stability, unity and order in the country.... During my tour in the Northern Region early this month, an attempt was made to overthrow the Government by foreign troops. Some foreign missions stationed in Uganda were requested by persons who hold positions in the Government under the Constitution of Uganda. These requests were made outside the provisions of the Constitution and were for massive

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[81] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1966: 469B.

[82] Every regime and political system is capable of writing or rewriting its own moral code justifying political violence against its perceived opponents. For a similar perspective, see K.W. Grundy and M.A. Weinstein, *The Ideologies of Violence*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1974: v; B. Woodward, "Moral Reasoning and Repressive Violence," in M. Hoefnagels, ed., *Repression and Repressive Violence*. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitinger, 1977: 14–16; G. A. Lopenz, "National Security Ideology as an Impetus to State Violence and State Terror," in M. Stohl and G. A. Lopenz, eds., *Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986: 76.

> military assistance consisting of foreign soldiers and arms.... It is for this fundamental reason that I now announce measures which are to take effect immediately to ensure our dignity as a country and people, to preserve our sovereignty and stability, and to set a strong basis for law and order, and prosperity.... The Constitution shall be suspended temporarily with the effect from 7 o'clock tonight…[83]

He concluded his statement by declaring that Mutesa had disqualified himself from holding any national office because of his anti-Uganda tendencies.[84] Thereafter, on March 1, 1966, the regime banned all press conferences, public meetings and rallies on the grounds that they threatened national security, national unity and other national interests.[85] From that moment, substantive distinctions between a civilian regime and a military regime began to gradually disappear in Buganda.[86]

Sir Mutesa responded by dismissing the accusations Obote made against him on national radio and television on March 3, 1966. He also denied any involvement in the alleged plot to overthrow Obote.[87] He offered the following explanation to justify his request for military help from Britain:

> The whole of Kampala was expectant, and it was in a tense atmosphere that I heard of troops being moved—some into Kampala, some out. Precisely what was going on I still do not know for certain. My guess is that the men most loyal to Obote were replacing the less devoted in Kampala, so that he might be in control whatever happened and perhaps rule directly with their support; but it is only a guess. At the time I was still less certain. Obote did not return. In my capacity as President, I talked with the Chief Justice and with the Brigadier about the growing danger of the situation, and it was at this stage that I sounded out the British Commissioner and some African ambassadors as to whether it would be possible to fly in troops if the situation got out of hand. I did not invite a foreign force to invade Uganda. I

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[83] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1966: 469BC. See also, Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 19–27.

[84] See "Uganda: Outline to the New Constitution," *NEFA Bulletin*, London (May, 1966): 1–5; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda:* 433; Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 585–598.

[85] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1966: 495A.

[86] For a similar discussion about the murky distinction between civilian and military rule in such a political environment, see S. Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1976: 16.

[87] Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 183; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 17–18.

> had in mind something similar to the successful intervention by the British which Obote had authorised two years before.[88]

Mutesa's explanation, however, did not stop Obote from consolidating the coup. On April 15, 1966, he hurriedly presented his proposed constitution to parliament. It was intended to achieve a number of objectives: eliminate the open and legal political space his challengers had used effectively to contest his legitimacy and power, an objective which could not be achieved without violating the fundamental rights, freedoms and privileges of those perceived to be a threat to the regime and its state; curtail the powers and authority of the kingdoms, territory and districts by concentrating more powers in the hands of the central government, a goal that was bound to threaten the leaders of the kingdoms and those who cherished decentralization of political power in the country; increase the role of the government in "facilitating" national integration by administrative fiat; and restore stability, law and order. The last objective could only be achieved through competent and coherent use of terror and repression. This type of stability—which does not stem from legitimacy—however, rests on shifting sand. Equally, while competent terror and repression may bring about stability, they increase the severe crisis of legitimacy.[89]

As he was presenting his proposed constitution to parliament, military troops were patrolling the city and war planes were hovering over Buganda. In this environment of terror and repression, Obote declared to the parliament that:

> Let us record that the 1962 Constitution was worked out by citizens of Uganda, but in large measure it was also worked out by the British Government. Now, therefore, we the people of Uganda here assembled in the name of the people of Uganda, do resolve, and it is hereby resolved that the Constitution which came into being on October 9th, 1962, is hereby abolished, and the Constitution now laid before us be adopted and is hereby

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[88] Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 185–6. In two letters addressed to Obote and circulated to the press on March 3, 1966, Mutesa pointed out that the arrest of the five Ministers and the suspension of the Constitution were illegal. See also, Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 18–9; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1966: 489C–490A.

[89] See "Uganda: Outline of the New Constitution," *NEFA Bulletin*, London, (May 1966): 1–5. For a useful discussion of the dilemma of national integration during this period, see G.M Carter, ed., *National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States.* New York: Cornell University Press, 1966: 411–422.

> adopted, this 15th day of April, 1966, as the Constitution of Uganda, until such time as a Constituent Assembly established by Parliament enacts a Constitution in place of this Constitution.[90]

When the Leader of Opposition, A. A. Latim, sought permission to raise questions about the proposed constitution, the Speaker of the National Assembly responded: "There is nothing on which I can permit any question at this time."[91] The result was that the new constitution was adopted without a debate. This made it possible for Obote to complete his constitutional coup and take the oath of the office of President on August 15, 1966.[92]

However, this judicial legitimacy, which was imposed through terror and dictatorship, increased the severe crisis of legitimacy. Indeed, the Buganda government responded by formally withdrawing its support for, and recognition of, Obote and the Uganda government.[93] To make its position more credible, it mobilized its followers, including Baganda ex-servicemen, to destroy properties of the Uganda government, attack the police and the military, and terrorize supporters of the regime in Buganda. This was followed by a declaration that Buganda recognized only the 1962 constitution because it conformed to its interests, values and beliefs.[94] It then approached the High Court to vindicate its position. However, the court ruled that the new constitution was the only legitimate and valid constitution in the country. This ruling angered the Buganda government so much that it once more dismissed the court as having no legitimacy in Buganda.[95]

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[90] Cited in "Uganda: Outline of the New Constitution": 1.

[91] See P. J. Nkambo Mugerwa, "The Attorney General of Uganda on the Press," *Transition*, 39, 8 (October, 1971): 29.

[92] See Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda:* 19; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda:* 435; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1966: 511C; Abu Mayanja, "The Government's Proposal for a New Constitution of Uganda," *Transition*, 32, 7 (August/September, 1967): 20–25. See also, J. M. Lee, "Buganda's Position in Federal Uganda," *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, III, 3 (November 1965): 176.

[93] *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535A.

[94] See the *Lukiko's Statement of April 18, 1966*, in Mutesa, *Sir Eward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 23–4.

[95] See Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 192; Mutesa, *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary of UNO*: 18–19; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 7–11; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1966: 490A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535B. For useful perspectives on the legitimacy of constitutions and courts, see Kittrie, *The War Against Authority: From*

The ruling by the court compelled the Buganda government to adopt a strategy that had been used effectively in Buganda during the colonial era: organize a Buganda-wide trade boycott. The mixed objectives of this strategy were to weaken the regime, stop the regime from continuing with its anti-Buganda activities and strengthen the hands of the Buganda establishment in the ensuing violent power contest.[96]

Two groups with competing political agenda responded favorably to the call for a trade boycott: supporters of the Buganda government and supporters of the DP. The former embraced the call because it wanted the government to restore the power and status of the Kabaka and Buganda. The latter embraced the idea because it offered a good opportunity to discredit the UPC and possibly bring it down. However, supporters of DP did not want the powers of the Kabaka and Buganda government to be restored. What brought the groups together was, therefore, their common hatred of the UPC and Obote, and the belief that anti-regime violence would improve the conditions of their members. By coincidence, the overwhelming majority of the members of both camps were Baganda. This common ethnic identity created a false appearance of ethnic solidarity.[97]

The regime responded to the threat in a manner similar to that of the colonial regime: in May 18, 1966, it outlawed the boycott using the Penal Code. The reasons it gave for the repressive measure were also similar to those of the colonial regime: the boycott was intended to bring about hatred and disaffection, jeopardize the economy and undermine the gov-

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Crisis of Legitimacy to a New Social Contract: 1, 7–9. For informed debates on the relationship between frustration and aggression, see R. A. Baron, *Human Aggression*. New York & London: Plenum Press, 1977: 22–32; N. E. Miller, "Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis," *Psychological Review*, 48 (1941): 33–342.

[96] For a similar view, see Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 192; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535A. Similar acts of political violence were employed during the colonial period to achieve similar objectives. See Ghai, "The Baganda Trade Boycott,": 755–770; Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda during April, 1949*: 16–17, 71–109; Low, *Political Parties in Uganda*, 1949–1962: 37; Mengo, *Buganda's Independence*: 15. For works that view political violence as a possible bargaining strategy, see H. L. Nieburg, *Political Violence*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969: 5–163; "The Threat of Violence and Social Change," *American Political Science Review*, LVI (December, 1962): 867; Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*: 208–15; T. C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1966: 1–34.

[97] Respondents No. 15, two prominent DP members of parliament, Kampala, April 17, 1985; Respondents No. 18, four members of FEDEMU who were former members of KY, interview by author, Dr. Nsibirwa's Clinic in Nairobi, July 15, 1992.

ernment's lawful authority. The strategies adopted and the reasons given for the repressive measure were similar because both regimes faced a similar problem: a severe crisis of legitimacy. The only difference was that the Obote regime had some legitimacy among segments of the population.[98]

The use of the repressive Penal Code, however, increased instability and political violence in Buganda. It also forced anti-regime challengers to develop complex networks of clandestine operations. Anti-regime violence, however, remained uncoordinated and ineffective because of factionalism within and between the camps, and the overwhelming presence of government informers in Buganda. The fate of anti-regime forces was not made any better by the attitude the regime adopted toward a negotiated settlement: that negotiation or compromise with the Buganda government would be perceived as evidence of weakness and would encourage more anti-regime opposition. The result was that anti-regime forces did not achieve any of their objectives.[99]

While the Buganda government continued with the violent opposition to the regime at home, it also attempted to mobilize international opinion to support its demands in Uganda. For example, Kabaka Mutesa appealed to Britain to force Obote to respect the 1962 constitution. However, Britain turned down the appeal. Mutesa then appealed twice to the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, to intervene and remove Obote from power because he had become a threat to national, regional and international justice, freedom, peace and security:

> Dr. Obote has indicated his intention to implement his Constitution with a firm hand, should it be necessary. The Lukiko has uncompromisingly said that Buganda will abide by the Uganda Constitution of 1962. That impasse is creating a situation whereby Dr. Obote's action is causing KATANGA in reverse.... His present readiness; the show of force by constant movement of troops in the country, points to one and only one thing—USE FORCE to overcome resistance. Buganda has got no army, Dr. Obote has. There are nearly 2.5 million people—Baganda represented by the Lukiko, they are angry. In a shooting war these angry people are likely to be massacred in great numbers by the modern weaponry. Their anger has now reached such a pitch that they would rather die than live under totalitarian regime where all that they live for is gone.... After the experience of KATANGA, it

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[98] *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535A; Respondents No. 16.

[99] Respondents No. 16, seven former members of parliament: three UPC and four DP, Kampala, August 1992.

> would be wrong to wait and see. This is more than a domestic matter. The intervention of the United Nations, in any way, would not be justified in the circumstances of a popular revolution, but we have already seen that this is a one-man coup which is bound to be resisted by an unarmed people with which he is likely to deal ruthlessly.[100]

However, the appeals were rejected by the UN Secretary-General on the grounds that the crisis was an internal affair of a member state and did not constitute a threat to international peace and security. The response by Britain and the UN Secretary-General dealt a devastating blow to Buganda's prestige, self-esteem and sense of international legitimacy.[101]

With its pride, self-esteem and image badly wounded at home and abroad, the Buganda government escalated its challenge to the regime. This time, it employed a strategy which it had used during the colonial period, including on December 31, 1960: it unilaterally declared Buganda's independence from Uganda. This took place on May 20, 1966. It then ordered the Obote regime to remove itself from Buganda's soil by May 30, 1966. On May 23, 1966, its supporters killed 8 policemen, 10 unarmed civilians, 2 British civil servants and 2 British surveyors in Buganda. The murders of the policemen and the Ugandan civilians were intended to make the cost of governing Buganda so high that the regime would have no choice but to negotiate a settlement with the Buganda government. The massacre of the British expatriates, on the other hand, was intended to create another Katanga so that Britain and the UN would intervene and reinstate the 1962 constitution.[102] This strategy was reinforced by another wave of anti-regime violence.[103] For example, ex-KAR servicemen and other supporters of the Buganda government, including some military deserters, attacked the army and the police in many parts of Buganda. At the beginning of this wave of political violence, anti-regime forces also burned down four police stations and destroyed many roads and bridges in Buganda.[104]

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[100] *Sir Edward's Appeal to the Secretary General of UNO*: 8–9.

[101] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 534C, 535B; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 8.

[102] Respondents No. 18, four members of FEDEMU (former members of KY), Dr. Nsibirwa's Clinic, Nairobi, July 15, 1992; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 8; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1966: 490A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535B.

[103] See Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 192; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 7–11; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1966: 490A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535B.

[104] Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 25.

The regime regarded Buganda's position as a declaration of total war against the Uganda government.[105] Consequently, it responded with greater terror: it detained many Baganda, including some of most influential leaders of the anti-regime forces such as Lutaya (saza chief of Singo county), Matovu (saza chief of Buddu county) and Sebanakita (saza chief of Kwangwe county). It expected the overwhelming terror to deter violent opposition to its presence in Buganda.[106] This expectation proved to be a self-defeating fallacy: anti-regime violence intensified throughout Buganda. On the same day, May 23, 1966, the regime responded by imposing a State of Emergency and a dusk to dawn curfew throughout Buganda.[107]

Increased regime terror and repression, however, did not persuade the Baganda to scale down armed opposition to the regime. For example, an armed opposition group, the Secret Council, that had announced its existence in February 1966, intensified its activities throughout Buganda.[108] This prompted the regime to order a unit of the armed forces, led by Colonel Idi Amin, to raid the Kabaka's palace and confiscate a large cache of illegal arms that had been smuggled into the palace. The order was given on May 24, 1966. It was left up to the "man on the spot," Amin, to determine the rules of engagement in the operation. According to Kabaka Mutesa, the "inexpert" raid was carried out at dawn, and although the "royal guards" were badly outnumbered, they put up a stiff resistance and killed many government soldiers. At the end of the armed engagement, the Kabaka was sent fleeing to England, where he became a poverty-stricken refugee.[109]

The raid also destroyed Buganda's historic monarchy—a monarchy which had been an important symbol of Buganda's identity, history, prestige, self-esteem and political legitimacy.[110] According to Mutesa, many Baganda were killed, many more were raped and violently displaced during the raid and the subsequent pacification campaign. This terror turned almost the entire Buganda against Obote and the UPC.[111] This, in turn, forced Obote to extend the State of Emergency in Buganda every 6 months. According to him, the State of Emergency was intended to avoid more bloodshed, contain political instability in Buganda and prevent the country from disintegrating.[112]

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[105] See Ibid: 192; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 7–11; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 535A.

[106] See Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 24.

[107] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 513.

[108] "Uganda—Outside and Inside," *Africa Confidential*, 25 (December 22, 1967): 7.

[109] Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 9–26.

[110] Ibid.

The State of Emergency and the use of the Emergency Powers (Detention) Regulations of 1966 turned Buganda into a police state.[113] Abu Mayanja suggested why the regime valued the Detention Regulations: "The only effect of having a detention law is that the Government can detain people in respect of whom it has no evidence that can satisfy a court of law that they have committed an offense. And herein lies the greatest objections to it: for it means the enthronement of the police state, the establishment of the Kingdom of Informer." He then cautioned the regime against thinking that detaining its perceived opponents would insulate it against a coup: "The fact that Nkrumah had detention law did not prevent him being overthrown in a coup."[114]

While the imposition of the State of Emergency and the Emergency Powers (Detention) Regulations began to bring about stability in Buganda, they did not address the profound legitimation deficit caused by Obote's coup and the absence of the Kabaka from his seat. This severe legitimation deficit and dilemma prompted Obote to contemplate abolishing the Buganda monarchy. This project could, among other things, provoke a series of legal challenges from Buganda. To pre-empt such challenges, he began to plan to change the 1966 constitution. He then realized that it would be difficult to justify abolishing only the Buganda monarchy. This problem was complicated because the other monarchies had not posed any serious challenge to the regime. After a protracted consultation with his aides, Obote decided that monarchies be abolished in the country. To be sure, the decision to abolish the other monarchies partly resulted from the contention that they were too weak to mount any serious challenge to the regime. It was also influenced by the viewpoint that loyalty to traditional leaders and the "ethnically" defined territories weakened loyalty to a national leader and the country. Thereafter, Obote prepared the ground for his project by presenting the monarchies as an impediment to national stability, national integration and development.[115]

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[111] See Ibid: 24–5. Mutesa estimated that over 600 troops were involved in the raid. However, according to Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 8–10, only 40 troops, including officers, were involved in the raid. Obote also claimed that none of the unarmed civilians, including children and women, who were at the palace were killed in the raid. This claim, however, is contradicted by that of the Katikiro of Buganda, Mayanja Nkangi, which suggested that over 100 Baganda were killed during the raid. See Mayanja Nkangi's testimony in Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 514. See also, *Standard Newspaper*, Nairobi, 24 June 1966: 1.

[112] The counter-terror tactic the regime employed also destroyed whatever myth that might had persisted about national integration or national unity. See *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1968: 1215A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–30, 1969: 1360B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1968: 1045BC; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda:* 436–438; Mutesa, *Desecration of My Kingdom*: 10, 24, 192; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 534C–535ABC; M. H. Segall, M. Doornbos and C. Davis, *Political Identity: A Case Study from Uganda*. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1976: 2–7.

[113] See the report by Minister of Internal Affairs, Basil Batringaya, to parliament on November 18, 1966. Reprinted in Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 113–114. See also, "Treading Softly in Uganda," *Africa Confidential*, 17 (August 18, 1967): 4.

[114] See Abu Mayanja, "The Government's Proposals for a new Constitution of Uganda,"*Transition*, 31, 6 (June/July, 1967): 20–25. See also, Nelson Kasfir, "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly Debate," *Transition*, 33, 7 (October/November, 1967): 52.

Once he convinced himself that the monarchies and their supporters had been effectively demonized, Obote introduced the Constituent Assembly Bill in parliament on April 26, 1967. This Bill provided for the Parliament to convert itself into a Constituent Assembly and work on a new constitution.[116] On June 9, 1967, he presented a draft constitution to the Constituent Assembly and the nation. According to one of the most determined and consistent critics of the regime and of the proposed constitution, Abu Mayanja, this time the government avoided the undemocratic manner by which the 1966 constitution was imposed on the country:

> Whatever criticisms one may advance against the Government Proposals for the new Constitution, which were published on the 9th of June, 1967… there is no doubt that the Government deserves credit for the manner in which it conducted this exercise in constitution-making. In the first place, it should not be forgotten that, as President Obote recently pointed out, this is perhaps the first time that a revolutionary government has produced its proposals for returning to constitutional government, publicized them well in advance, invited public debate and discussion on these proposals,

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[115] Respondents No. 7. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1967: 760A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–31, 1967: 789C; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 15–16.

[116] *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1967: 760A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–31, 1967: 789C; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 15–16.

> and then expressed its intention of revising the proposals in the light of the criticism and suggestions produced during the debate.[117]

The "democratic" behavior of the regime was dictated by three related considerations. First, competent regime terror in Buganda had brought about relative stability and order. This development discouraged the regime from rushing through its proposed constitution without a national debate. Secondly, criticisms from the international community against the imposition of the 1966 constitution suggested the need for "democratic" debates on the proposed constitution. Thirdly, Obote was still committed to some limited and personally sanctioned democratic ideals and practices.[118]

On June 22, 1967, he outlined the objectives of the proposed constitution: to create stability, one people, one country, one parliament and one government. After presenting the constitution as a vehicle for national integration and stability, he declared that the country had not yet acquired the necessary preconditions to get to the "promised land"—national integration, liberal democracy, liberty and economic development. In the absence of the preconditions, he insisted, some aspects of liberty and democracy would have to be frozen until the country gets to the appropriate evolutionary stage. Thus, the *Uganda Argus* reported that Obote:

> did not mind people saying it was a good thing to have Parliamentary democracy, or even a great thing. But he stressed that there was no point in pretending that Uganda was at a stage where full Parliamentary democracy could obtain, because there were certain matters that came with it that were lacking in Uganda. These things had become effective in certain states in the world after many years of trial and error, and many upheavals. But they did not just come like that. Uganda must be prepared to go through years of trial and error in order to get them.[119]

Obote's views highlighted a number of important points: that the objectives of the proposed constitution were aimed at addressing the severe crisis of legitimacy of the neocolonial state; that liberal democracy was a form of political practice that had evolved in stages along a particular path and historically in specific settings and at specific junctures in Western Europe; since the country lacked the necessary socio-economic and political preconditions, as defined by this stage theory, it is historically unreasonable to expect liberal democracy to flourish in the country; that the form of political practice necessary to transform the despotically strong but infrastructurally weak state was developmental dictatorship; and that the transition to a desired political and economic stage and form would be characterized by prolonged birth pangs.[120]

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[117] Abu Mayanja, "The Government's Proposals for a new Constitution of Uganda," *Transition*, 31, 6 (June/July, 1967): 20.

[118] Respondents No. 2, four former high-ranking UPC members, London, December 16, 1992; Respondents No. 7, two long-serving and prominent members of UPC, London, December 6, 1993.

[119] Kasfir, "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly": 54; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1967: 798BC–799A, 801B.

Opposition to the proposed constitution came from many members of parliament. The Minister of Planning and Economic Development, C.J. Obwangor, for example, urged parliament not to pass the proposed constitution in its present form because that would give the President and his ministers dictatorial powers. Such powers, he cautioned, would undermine the legitimacy of the parliament as a democratic institution. According to him, he was forced to share his view in the Constituent Assembly because the leadership of the UPC was repressing dissenting voices from the membership of the party.[121] Obote responded by dismissing the minister from the cabinet on the ground that he should have expressed his opposition in the Cabinet Room, not in the Constituent Assembly.[122]

The most organized and forceful criticism of the proposed constitution came from Abu Mayanja. His view will be cited in detail because it pointed out why the proposed constitution, with its underlying assumption about developmental dictatorship, will exacerbate the severe crisis of legitimacy:

> [T]he proposals themselves, as they now stand, fall far short of the principles of the Government by consent of the governed. Nor are they likely to result in national unity or stability of the State, two of the objectives that, according to President Obote, they were designed to achieve....The key-note of the Government proposals is the concentration of all powers of government—legislative, executive, administrative and judiciary—into central Government institutions and the subjection of those institutions to

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[120] This line of analysis is adopted from Chabal, ed., *Political Domination in Africa*: 3–17.

[121] Kasfir, "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly": 52, 54; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1967: 818C.

[122] See Kasfir, "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly": 56; Obote, *Myths and Realities:* 14.

> the control of one man—the President. The result is the creation—not of a republic, but of a one-man dictatorship….The philosophy behind the new Constitution is thus one of absolute centralism—or, as Dr. Obote put it, 'one country, one Parliament, one destiny'…The Government Proposals for the new Constitution are thus subject to serious objections. In many respects, they are illiberal, authoritarian and dictatorial…. The justification for this is—in the words of President Obote and some of his colleagues—that Uganda is backward and not yet ready for democratic government…[123]

However, on September 8, 1967, the proposed constitution was adopted with minor modifications.[124]

The new constitution failed to achieve two cardinal objectives: national integration and stability. Instead, the abolition of the monarchies, an important part of the constitution, encouraged more insurgency activities in Buganda. For example, the Secret Council became involved in armed robberies (*kondoism*) and political assassinations in Buganda. In February 1968, the group attacked Obote's motorcade on the Kampala-Entebbe road. According to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Basil Bataringaya, the overall objective of anti-regime violence was to "bring about the downfall of the Government."[125]

The government responded to this wave of violence by arresting, detaining and charging many more people, under the Emergency Powers in Buganda, with treason. For example, on March 18, 1967, it charged 17 people with treason. On July 3, 1967, it accused 22 people of treason. These people appeared before Justice Goudie in Kampala. On August 1, 1968, it committed seven people for trial on charges of treason and concealment of treason. These people appeared before the High Court in Kampala.[126] During this period, it also detained some foreigners, including 77 West Africans and a Belgian, under the Emergency Regulations in June 1969, ostensibly for collaborating with its opponents to overthrow the government.[127]

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[123] See Abu Mayanja, "The Government's Proposals for a new Constitution of Uganda, "*Transition*, 31, 6 (June/July, 1967): 20–25. See also, Nelson Kasfir, "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly Debate," *Transition*, 33, 7 (October/November, 1967): 52; Kasfir, "The 1967 Uganda Constituent Assembly Debate": 52–55. For favorable views on the proposed constitution, see, for example, A. W. Bradley, "Constitution-Making in Uganda," *Transition,* 31, 6 (June/July, 1967): 25–31; Odur-Aper, "The Uganda Constitution," *Transition,* 34, 7 (December/January, 1968): 9–11; Picho Ali, "The 1967 Republican Constitution of Uganda," Transition, 34, 7 (December/January, 1968): 11–13.

[124] Ibid: 52; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1967: 836C–837A; "Government's Proposals for a new Constitution," *Transition*, 33, 7 (October/November, 1967): 43; Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 585–599; Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda*: 82.

[125] Cited in "Uganda—Outside and In," *Africa Confidential,* 25 (December 22, 1967): 7. See also, "Uganda—the extension of the Emergency," *Africa Confidential*, 10 (May 17, 1968): 5.

The Common Man's Charter and the Crisis of Legitimacy

After the government had consolidated its power in Buganda through competent repression, it turned its attention to the crisis of legitimacy that resulted from the severe economic underdevelopment of the country. This crisis persisted largely because the economic structures and institutions created by the colonial regime had been preserved by the neocolonial state. It also persisted partly because the government invested massively in human development by building many more hospitals, health centers, schools, community centers and bore-holes in seven years than what the colonial regime had invested in nearly 70 years of rule. To address this crisis, Obote attempted to formulate economic policies which became a part of the continental wide experiments, including those by Julius Nyerere (*Ujamaa*), Kwame Nkrumah (Scientific Socialism), Kenneth Kaunda (Humanism), Tom Mboya/Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya's African Socialism)[128]: the *Move to the Left* (November 1968), the *Common Man's Charter* (October 1969) and *Nakivubo Pronouncement* (May 1970). These documents attempted to address one major question: given the chronic state of underdevelopment in the country, how can the country develop in a manner that is meaningful to all its people or the "common man"?[129] According to the documents, which were discussed extensively in the country, socialism was the answer to the country's underdevelopment. The documents then proposed the construction of a socialist project in which the means of production and distribution of wealth were to be collectively owned and controlled through the state. This would require, among other considerations, gradual nationalization and Africanization of industries, key financial institutions, companies and firms.[130]

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[126] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 113–114; "Treading Softly in Uganda, "Africa *Confidential*, 17 (August 18, 1967): 4.

[127] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1967: 741C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1967: 823BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1968: 1155A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1969: 1445C–1446A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1969: 1473B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1969: 1501B.

[128] See, for example, Ogenga Otunnu, "Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's philosophy, contribution, and legacies," *African Identities*, 13, 1, February 2015: 18–33.

[129] See Ginyera-Pinycwa, "On the Proposed Move to the Left,": 24.

The blueprint received mixed reactions in the country. Some members of the socialist camp in the country generally applauded it as a first tentative step on the path to socialism. Thus, Professor Ginyera-Pinycwa observed that:

> [T]he Charter is a well-rounded blue-print …hammered out in an atmosphere of realism. Thus it promises, through socialist principles, to take us forward, but to do so within the limits of what is at the moment feasible in the unique circumstances of Uganda. I view the Charter's acceptance to some degree of free enterprise, at least for now and the very near future, not as a betrayal of socialist principles, but as a realistic recognition of the scope of what is at the moment possible in our circumstances…[131]

What was historically possible, as Ginyera-Pinycwa explained, provided space for some elements of capitalism. This segment of the socialist camp also believed that the proposed economic policies would gradually bring about national integration by putting in place an integrated domestic economy. However, another and very vocal segment of the socialist camp rejected the policies on the grounds that they made too many vital concessions to capitalism and represented rhetorical and contradictory commitment to socialism. This segment demanded that the bare minimum proposal for a socialist project should match that adopted by Tanzania under the Arusha Declaration.[132]

The Asian capitalist traders and merchants saw the policies as part of a broader strategy to marginalize and force them out of the country. Their perception was informed by the growing anti-Asian sentiment and pronouncements in the country. The anxiety and panic that resulted from this perception were heightened by Obote's statement in parliament on April 20, 1970. This statement will be cited in detail because, among other things, it threw some light on the gathering storm that would lead to intense and widespread political violence against the Asians in 1972:

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[130] See A. M. Obote, *The Common Man's Charter*. Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1970; *The Financial Times*, Thursday, May 14, 1970, cited in Uganda Argus, *Thoughts of an African Leader*. Kampala: Longman, 1970: 62; Ginyera-Pinycwa, On the Proposed Move to the Left,": 23–29; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 30.

[131] Ginyera-Pinycwa, "On the Proposed Move to the Left": 28.

[132] Ibid: 25, 28. For the type of a socialist project that the Arusha Declaration proposed, see *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance*. Reprinted in I. L. Markovitz, *African Politics and Society*. New York: Free Press, 1970: 266–276.

> Regarding the non-Ugandans who are also non-Africans, the majority of whom are British citizens of Asian origin, a comprehensive exercise is now being undertaken in a two-pronged dimension. First, in accordance with the provisions of the Immigration Act passed by this House last year. This involves the documentation of all non-citizens living in Uganda. Secondly, a detailed documentation of persons now popularly known as "Asians holding British passports" is being made….For the moment I wish to emphasize that as far as Uganda is concerned, these people are not Uganda citizens and are not entitled to remain in our country on their own will or because they cannot be admitted into any other country. They have never shown any commitment to the cause of Uganda or even Africa. Their interest is to make money, which money they exported to various capitals of the world on the eve of Independence.[133]

This statement was followed by the dismissal of some Asians from government jobs.[134] In this state of panic and anxiety, wealthy Asians increased their activity of smuggling most of their money out of the country. They employed also whatever strategy they could to frustrate the Africanization of trade and commerce. Such activities, however, were quite risky. For example, in Mukono trading center, Lemeck Lubowa (Attorney-General) and R.Z. Wasike (Buganda Regional Trading Officer) evicted some Asians who were frustrating the Africanization of trade and commerce.[135]

During this period of increased unemployment and other economic difficulties in the country, the government made it extremely difficult for Asians to get citizenship in the country. Those Asians who applied for resettlement in Britain were equally disappointed because the British government had enacted the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Acts that prevented British Asians in East Africa from emigrating to Britain.[136] Anxious about their fate, especially in light of the proposed economic policies, most Asians began to collaborate with groups that were planning to topple Obote.[137]

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[133] *Dr. A. Milton Obote, Communication from the Chair of the National Assembly on 20 April, 1970.* Cited in Rev. David Mason, *The Crisis for British Asians in Uganda*. London: The British Council of Churches, October 1970: 1.

[134] Manson, *The Crisis for British Asians in Uganda*: 1–14.

[135] Ibid. The demand for the Africanization of trade and commerce dated back to the colonial period. Later in 1968, the government formed a committee to recommend how the demand could be met. See Uganda Government, *Report of the Committee on Africanisation of Commerce and Industry in Uganda*. Entebbe: Government Printer, May 16, 1968.

The rest of the capitalist camp, international financial institutions, foreign-based firms, corporations and some wealthy Ugandans, were unanimous in their denunciation of the proposed economic policies. According to them, the proposed policies were based on borrowed Marxist theories which had led to serious economic crises in communist and socialist states. The proposed policies, they added, would be as disastrous in Uganda as the Arusha Declaration was in Tanzania. To prevent the policies from being implemented, they appealed to Western governments, and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Funds (IMF). These Western capitalist interests and institutions—with massive influence over the country's trade, debt, loans and development aid—were approached to exert pressure on the regime to withdraw its proposed economic strategy. *Africa Confidential* reported what happened next:

> President Obote appears to have modified Uganda's brand of socialism as recent agreements with banks and firms have produced terms more favourable to business than could have been expected after some government's pronouncements....Nearly ten weeks after the Nakivubo Pronouncements, Lord Aldington, Chairman of National and Grindlays, the largest British bank in the country (the others are Barclays, DCO and Standard), arrived in Uganda with a formula. His arrival seems in retrospect to have been the turning point for Uganda's brand of socialism.[138]

In the end, the government revised its proposed policies almost out of existence. The result was that the government faced more crises of legitimacy from both camps: to the socialists, the government lacked legitimacy and deserved to be replaced because it was now married to capitalist exploiters and oppressors; to the capitalists, the regime lacked legitimacy and had to be replaced because of its inherent socialist tendencies.[139]

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[136] Mason, *The Crisis for British Asians in Uganda*: 3, 13–15.

[137] Respondents No. 19, three former Ugandan Asians, interview by author, London, December 19, 1993; Respondents No. 20, six former Ugandan Asians, interview by author, Coventry, December 20, 1993.

[138] "Uganda: Further left or right incline?" *Africa Confidential*, 11, 20 (October 2, 1970): 6.

On the political front, the government attempted to formulate, through these documents, a more independent foreign policy. This policy emphasized non-alignment and more commitment to the liberation struggles in Africa. It also attempted to bring about national integration by creating the National Service scheme. According to this scheme, for example, every able adult would be called upon to serve anywhere in the country for at least a year. It was hoped that the scheme would allow Ugandans to learn to work and live together as one people. In this instance, it was assumed that lack of national integration resulted from lack of interaction and knowledge among ethnic groups in the country. The scheme was also expected to provide the "common man" with the employment and skills needed to bring about a speedy and sustained economic growth.[140]

Thereafter, the government banned strikes by trade unions on the grounds that the workers were now the owners or potential owners of industries.[141] The workers, however, did not accept this revolutionary rhetoric because it was the multi-nationals, not the workers, that owned the industries. The real reasons for the repression by the despotic state were that strikes would cripple the faltering economy and generate political instability, thereby increasing the crisis of legitimacy.[142]

During this period, the government continued with its policy of trying to achieve national unity, political stability and economic development by excluding dissenting voices from the legal and open political arena. Among other things, this was done by recommending the passage of electoral laws that would make it impossible for opponents of the regime to win any seat in parliament. This recommendation was made during the UPC Annual Delegates Conference in November 1969. During the

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[139] Respondents No. 10, two professors at Makerere University, former supporters of the socialist camp in UPC, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 21, two former prominent members of the pro-capitalist camp in UPC, interview by author, Kampala, August, 1992; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 30.

[140] See Obote, *The Common Man's Charter*: 13–21; Ginyera-Pinycwa, "On the Proposed Move to the Left": 25; *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31: 180AB; *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1969: 1569AB; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 29–30; Sathyamurthy, *The Political, Development of Uganda:* 530.

[141] Mamdani, *imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 30.

[142] *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31: 180AB; *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1969: 1569AB; Sathyamurthy, *The Political, Development of Uganda:* 530.

Conference, it also recommended the introduction of a one-party state as a vehicle for national unity. It then made it clear to the country that it was prepared to use "revolutionary measures," meaning political violence and repression, to implement its policies.[143] From that moment, the state, which was now so closely wedded to both the government and the ruling party that distinctions among them had effectively ceased to exist, gained more despotic power. This meant that civil and political rights, and accountability would bleed more profusely on the altar of national unity, national security and economic development. In such a situation, the infrastructural power of the state would depend largely on both the quality and quantity of repression, not on democratic practice, legitimacy or economic development.

While the ruling party was still issuing declarations to terrorize dissenting segments of the society into absolute silence and loyalty, Sir Edward Mutesa died in London on November 21, 1969. The news of Mutesa's death shocked and humiliated many Baganda because he died young, poor and in exile. The shock and painful humiliation, coupled with the growing opposition to the policies of both the government and ruling party, turned into anger against the person who overthrew Mutesa from the throne and forced him to live and die in poverty in exile, Obote. This anger led to an abortive assassination attempt on Obote during the UPC Annual Delegates Conference at Lugogo Indoor Stadium on December 9, 1969. Although Obote was only slightly wounded, the government, aware of its growing unpopularity, responded by declaring a country-wide State of Emergency. The incident also provided the regime with the opportunity to increase its repression of other political organizations, including the DP, Uganda National Union, Uganda Farmers Voice, Uganda National Socialist Party and Uganda Vietnam Solidarity Party.[144] On the same day, the police killed seven unarmed Baganda in Kampala. The police also arrested and detained hundreds of Baganda, including Benedicto Kiwanuka (former Prime Minister), Dr. Paul Semogerere

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[143] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1969: 180AB; *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1969: 1569AB; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism*: 29–30; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda:* 530; *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1966: 678C; Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda:* 16–18; "Uganda: Obote Survives," *Africa Confidential* 11, 1 (January 2, 1970): 6; Ingham, *Obote*: 125.

[144] "Uganda—Outside and In," *Africa Confidential*, 25 (December 22, 1967): 7–8; *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1969: 1616BC.

(DP Publicity Secretary) and Princess Nalinya Mpalagoma (the sister of the former President and late Kabaka Mutesa).[145]

On July 19, 1970, the UPC produced another political document: *Proposals for New Methods of Election of Representatives of the People to Parliament*. Part of the document read:

> The basic consideration behind these proposals is that representatives of the people of Uganda in Parliament should be elected by a cross-section of the people of Uganda as a whole.... The Party decided, by Resolution of 19th December, 1969, that the best political means through which the people of Uganda as a whole could be collectively and effectively involved in the endeavour of nation-building was that Uganda be a one-party State…[146]

With this document, the regime effectively turned the country into a one-party state. Admittedly, in theory, the country was still a multi-party state because a few members of the opposition party that were not languishing in detention were in parliament. By effectively turning the country into a one-party state, the regime declared itself the only legitimate representative of the masses.

This terror and repression completed the transition to an authoritarian state. To be sure, the distinction between authoritarianism and totalitarianism was quite murky because the regime had no regard for the rights of its political opponents, no regard for representative principles except those it sanctioned, was brutal and repressive and attempted to control most aspects of the daily lives of Ugandans according to the dictates of the ruling political party. However, far from bringing about legitimacy, stability and national unity, this wave of terror increased political instability and crisis of legitimacy. This unintended effect of government policies forced the government to rely almost exclusively on the armed forces, especially the General Service Unit (GSU) and the Special Force (SP), to stay in power.[147]

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[145] "Uganda: Obote survives," *Africa Confidential*: 6; *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1969: 1616BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1969: 1473B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1969: 1533A.

[146] A. M. Obote, *Proposals for New Methods of Elections of the People to Parliament*. Kampala: Milton Obote Foundation, 1970: 1.

[147] "Uganda: Obote survives," *Africa Confidential*: 6; *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1969: 1616BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1969: 1473B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1969: 1533A.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN WESTERN UGANDA

While international and national attention was focused on political events at the citadel of power in Buganda, political violence continued to escalate in the areas inhabited by the Bakonjo and Baamba. To begin with, the government maintained the anti-Bakonjo and anti-Baamba policy it inherited from the colonial government. Accordingly, it rejected the demands of the two ethnic groups for dignity, development and a separate district. This policy was initially influenced by the desire not to antagonize the Kingdom of Toro during the period of increased political uncertainty in Buganda. The relatively small size of the territory, relatively small size of the population, the remoteness of territory from the citadel of power in Kampala and the policy of bringing about national integration through administrative fiat also influenced this policy.[148]

When the inhabitants of the area demanded to know why the regime continued to disregard their modest demand to live in dignity and manage their own affairs as a constituent unit of the neocolonial state, the government claimed that its policy was driven by the desire for national integration. The demand for a separate district, it further insisted, came from a handful of self-appointed leaders who were busy intimidating ordinary people in the area: "But there is plenty of evidence to show that the people are living in fear and intimidation. If we grant a separate District, the few people who are at the top will gain, but because of their self-appointment these leaders have already brought a lot of misery to their own people."[149]

The reasons the regime gave for maintaining the policy were hollow and contradictory. For example, when a similar demand was made by the Sebei during the self-government, the UPC voted for the creation of a separate district for the Sebei. Similarly, the claim that the majority of the Baamba and Bakonjo did not want a separate district was grossly inaccurate. In fact, since the colonial era, the overwhelming majority of the Bakonjo and Baamba demanded a separate district as a means of escaping the alienation, humiliation and exploitation they faced from both the Toro Kingdom and the state. Ironically, those who did not support the demand for a separate district were a handful of Bakonjo and Baamba elites who were members of the UPC.[150]

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[148] For a similar line of argument see A. Syahuka-Muhindo, "The Rwenzururu Movement and the Democratic Struggle," in M. Mamdani and J. Oloka-Onyango, eds., *Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions, Popular Movements and Constitutionalism*. Viena and Kampala: JEP and Centre for Basic Research, 1994: 302, 305.

[149] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1965: 365B.

When the regime turned down the demand for a separate district, the Rwenzururu movement intensified its armed struggle in October 1963. This forced the government to impose a State of Emergency in the area. This was followed by the deployment of the armed forces and the police, who were instructed to use "reasonable force" to restore law and order in the area. The troops met with so much armed resistance that they decided to employ unrestrained terror against the Baamba and the Bakonjo. Unrestrained terror was also employed because the area had always been deliberately kept out of the public eyes, ears and mind. Also, unlike Buganda, the area did not have any strong and prominent political allies in the country or abroad.[151]

The terror the regime unleashed in the area had a number of effects. First, it led to the torture, rape, detention and massacre of many Bakonjo and Baamba.[152] Secondly, it increased the severe crisis of the legitimacy of state and the incumbents in the region. This was so because both the state and the incumbents had become a major threat to the interests, aspirations and security of the people. Thirdly, it turned the quest for national unity into a fatal myth. Fourthly, it induced compliance among the inhabitants of the lower slopes of the Rwenzori mountains. This made it possible for the regime to recruit some of the former leaders of the Rwenzururu, such as Timothy Bazarrabusa, and isolate the more militant wing of the movement. Finally, it intensified the armed struggle by the militant wing of the Rwenzururu movement so much that a large section of the Toro Kingdom became quite unstable. For example, in his request to parliament for an extension of the state of emergency in the area in March 1964, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Felix Onama, noted that the war was spreading to other neighboring territories.[153] The request was granted on March 10, 1964, and more troops were sent to the area. On August 27, 1964, Onama told parliament that since the beginning of 1964, 184 cases of violence and intimidation had been reported in the area and 2013 people had been prosecuted. Regime terror, however, did not bring about stability in the area. Indeed, the government never gained control of the area. [154]

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[150] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Recent Disturbances amongst the Baamba and Bakonjo People of Toro*, especially: 7–11, 29; Syahuka-Muhindo, "The Rwenzururu Movement and the Democratic Struggle": 294–311.

[151] See, M.R. Doornbos, "Kumanyana and Rwenzururu: Two Responses to Ethnic Inequality," in Rotberg and. Mazrui, *Protest in Black Africa*: 1088–1091, 1109–1110; Syahuka-Muhindo, "The Rwenzururu Movement and the Democratic Struggle": 302.

[152] See Syahuka-Muhindo, "The Rwenzururu Movement and the Democratic Struggle": 300–303.

[153] See *Uganda Argus*, March 10–11, 1964, cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1964: 41C. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1964: 94C; *Africa Research Bulletin*,

Repression and the Press

The relationships between the regime and the press should be seen in the context of the severe crisis of legitimacy and the resulting political violence that dominated the political landscape of the country since the colonial era. Indeed, the press has been embroiled in Uganda's complex, violent and divisive politics since the first newspapers emerged in Buganda in the first decade of the twentieth century. The relations should also be seen in the context of the broader and controversial debates on the freedom of expression: what is expressed and its effects on the society, how it is expressed, who expresses it, for what purpose it is expressed, who determines what is expressed, what obligations come with what is expressed, who determines how much expression is freedom of expression and whose freedom of expression is meant by freedom of expression?[155] The nature of the state, the nature of the political system, the effects of the external environment on the state and society, the social and political complexions of the society and the political culture of the state are also important considerations in understanding repression of the press.

Some of the newspapers that emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century were: the *Munyonyozi*, *Matalisi* (Messenger), *Njubebirese* (the Dawn), *Sekanyolya*, *Bulungi Bwa Buganda* (Buganda's welfare), *Gambuze* (Ask Me) and *Dobozi lya Buganda* (The Voice of Buganda). These papers

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August 1–31, 1964: 133B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1964: 151A;

[154] Respondents No. 22, eight former members of the Rwenzururu Movement, interview by author, Kasese, December 17, 1983; Respondents No. 23, three former officers of the Rwenzururu Movement, interview by author, Bundibugyo, August 25, 1984; Major M. Kapuchu, UNLA officer from the Rwenzori mountains, interview by author, Kampala, July 22, 1984.

[155] For debates on the freedom of expression, see, for a start, F. Caravan, *Freedom of Expression*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1984, especially: 1–6; W. A. Hachten and C. A. Giffard, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984: vii–xvi.

focused their attention exclusively on Buganda's interests. However, by the time of independence, most of them had ceased publishing because of stiff competition from the major newspapers, such as *Uganda Argus* and the *East African Standard*. Some of the papers had also ceased publication because of increased repression by the colonial regime.[156]

At the beginning of independence, a total of 41 papers were registered. Among these, 15 were printed in English, 13 in Luganda, 5 in Swahili, 2 in Luo, 2 in Luyoro/Lutoro and Lunyankole, 1 in Lugbara and 1 Gujarati.[157] These newspapers fell into three categories. The first comprised government-owned papers which had their origins in the Colonial Government's Information Department. The prime objectives of these papers were to disseminate government propaganda, improve the link between the regime and the public and project a positive image of Uganda to the international community.[158] The second category comprised commercial newspapers whose sole objective was to make profit. The third category comprised those papers whose main objective was to promote very specific socio-economic and political interests in the country. In this category—that reflected the social, economic and political complexions of the society—was the *Muno*. This paper, run by the Catholic Church, supported the cause of the Catholics and the DP in the country. With the support of the Catholic Church, the DP also established and ran *Munnansi* and the *Star* to promote the political, social and economic agenda of the party. Similarly, the *Ssekanyolya*, a daily newspaper established and run by the Buganda government, advanced the cause of the monarchy in Buganda. The UPC, for its part, established its own mouthpiece, *The People*, whose objectives were to promote the views and propaganda of the party. The competing political agenda of the local press, therefore, made it extremely difficult for any section of the press to provide accurate information and objective analysis of political events in the country. Indeed, it was quite common for a newspaper to deliberately distort information to enhance the agenda of its funders or constituency.[159]

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[156] See B. Turyahikayo-Rugyema, "The Development of Mass Nationalism, 1952–1962," in Uzoigwe, ed., *Uganda: The Dilemma of Nationhood*: 231–233.

[157] *Uganda Becomes Independent*: 14.

[158] See contribution to debates in the Uganda Legislative Council on December 16, 1952 by A.N. Maini, in Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council. Third, Fourth and Fifth Meetings of the Thirty-Second Session*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963: 22.

[159] Daniel Nelson, "Newspapers in Uganda," *Transition*, 35, 7 (February/March, 1968): 29–33; A. C. Duffield, "Press Freedom" *Transition*, 36, n.d: 6.

During the army mutiny in January 1964, for example, the government imposed a brief censorship on the press. This was the first time since independence that the government took such a measure against the freedom of the press. According to the government, the censorship was necessary to preserve national security, law and order. The press did not protest against the repression because it was short-lived and very limited. The response of the press was also influenced by the fact that Uganda still enjoyed almost unrivaled freedom of the press in Africa. Additionally, the founders of the newspapers had nothing to gain from the mutiny.[160]

However, relations between the government and a section of the press deteriorated during the period of the referendum in the Lost Counties, the Cold War crisis in the Congo and the crisis within and between the UPC and the KY.[161] During this period, the divided but free press, which was a major player in the unfolding drama, took sides and reported according to the agenda of the shareholders. Some of the reports prompted the Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Alex Ojera, to warn the press that: "the Government had often announced its belief in the freedom of the Press, but … that this freedom must be exercised with care. A newspaper.... which went out of its way to undermine the Government would not be tolerated."[162]

This warning, however, did not deter *Ssekanyolya* from defending and encouraging anti-regime violence during the violent confrontation between the Buganda government and the Central government. The Central government responded by shutting down the paper. This repressive measure, however, was not condemned by most of the local newspapers. Four reasons accounted for the indifference to the repression. First, some of the papers believed that *Ssekanyolya* had gone too far with its concept of freedom of the press. Secondly, a section of the press was so intimidated by the repressive and violent behavior of the regime that it quietly imposed self-censorship.[163] Thirdly, newspapers belonging to the DP and the Catholic Church did not support the position of the Buganda government in the ensuing conflict. Since the bulk of opposition newspapers belonged to the DP and the Catholic Church, most of the press did not bother much about the repression. Fourthly, the regime practiced selective press repression and censorship. For example, while it was uncompromising toward the mouthpiece of the Buganda government, it allowed the mouthpiece of the DP to publish whatever it wanted. Thus, it was common for *Munno*, for example, to describe Obote as a dictator who was only interested in enhancing his personal power. When Obote unilaterally postponed the general elections, *Munno* suggested that he had betrayed the African revolution and was now acting like Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).[164]

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[160] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, prominent DP member and former Minister of Information, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992; Nelson, "Newspapers in Uganda": 29–33; Duffield, "Press Freedom": 6.

[161] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992; *Africa Research Bulletin,* August 1–31, 1964: 136A.

[162] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1964: 122A.

[163] See Nelson, "Newspapers in Uganda,": 30.

The selective press censorship was a result of four factors: first, the political incumbents were not in agreement on the limit of the freedom of expression and the freedom of the press. Response to dissent and criticism by the press, as such, depended on the "majority" perspective of the incumbents at any given time. Secondly, the anti-Obote faction of the UPC allowed the press to publish almost anything to tarnish the image of Obote. It was hoped that negative press coverage would make it easier for the faction to oust Obote from power. Although this strategy was not intended to promote freedom of the press, it restrained repressive actions from the UPC and the regime. Thirdly, in keeping with the political culture of the state, the regime was willing to allow and encourage "less threatening" dissent and criticism from "less threatening" sources in the country. For example, the DP, which was in total disarray, was free to say whatever it wanted. Fourthly, the government formulated a strategy to undermine the formation of a common front by the anti-regime section of the press.[165] These factors also made it possible for the government to allow other forms of literary expression, such as books and journals, to publish and circulate almost any view about the government. For example, Mutesa's very critical work of the Obote regime, The *Desecration of My Kingdom*, was never banned. In fact, it was even reviewed by many newspapers, including the UPC mouthpiece, *The People*.[166] This policy of selective censorship made it possible for Obote to claim that during "the State of Emergency in Buganda Region, we did not consider it fitting to order Press censorship."[167]

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[164] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1966: 525B;

[165] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992.

[166] See "Treading Softly in Uganda," *Africa Confidential*, 17 (August 18, 1967): 4.

In a similar vein, Engholm and Mazrui observed that, for the most part during the Obote regime, Uganda led Africa in the freedom of expression:

> Uganda had more freedom of expression for its indigenous citizens than almost any other African country.... What there was in Uganda was a soapbox freedom—the freedom to call a meeting at the Clock Tower in Kampala, for example, and attack ministers of government by name. And for as long as that kind of freedom remained, even freedom of the press retained some life. A newspaper might have been terrified of writing an editorial against the government, and could yet remain relatively free to report other people's attacks against the same government. The Clock Tower was Kampala's equivalent of the Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, London. The main difference was that the Clock Tower …had even greater democratic meaning than Hyde Park Corner. Prominent critics of the government made some of their important speeches at the Tower; and ministers of government sometimes turned up to defend their positions.[168]

While the government was somewhat accommodating toward the anti-regime section of the local press, it was less compromising toward the anti-regime section of the Western media. Three factors accounted for the regime's response toward the Western press. First, the press, which had been almost unanimous in its support of the colonial regime, was almost unanimous in its opposition to the Obote regime. This was partly so because of Obote rhetoric about revolution and socialism, and his opposition to the policies of the Western governments that delayed the liberation of southern Africa. Secondly, the press had such a profound influence in the West that its anti-Obote's views could create a severe crisis of legitimacy for the regime on the international front.[169] Such a crisis could have serious implications for the survival of the regime because it could persuade Western governments that were actively involved in the quest for global supremacy during the Cold War era, to sponsor a coup against the regime. Such a crisis could also force major donor countries to deny loans, credits and development assistance to the regime at a time when it desperately needed such assistance to spur economic development. Thirdly, the regime, like many regimes in Africa, was more concerned about its international legitimacy than about domestic legitimacy. To be sure, the regime still retained significant legitimacy outside of the Buganda region.

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[167] Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 14.

[168] Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 593–4.

[169] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992; Respondents No. 7, two long-serving and prominent members of UPC, London, December 6, 1993.

These concerns prompted the government, for example, to expel a freelance reporter for several UK news agencies and publications, Ted Jones, when he expressed sympathetic views toward Mutesa and Opolot during the 1966 crisis in Buganda.[170] Similarly, when a reporter for the Kenya-based *Daily Nation*, Peter Forbath, circulated "unfavorable" news on the Congo crisis, he was detained and then expelled from the country. Billy Chibber, a correspondent for *Time Magazine*, suffered a similar fate when the government claimed that he had engaged in unprofessional activities in the country.[171] Obote summed up his view about this section of the press: "I was accused not only by individuals, but also by the foreign press. They attempted to portray those who were trying to cause chaos in this country as defenders of the Constitution. God blessed us, we are still alive, and the same gentlemen who wrote these articles are out of the country. Let me assure the country … that the others who still remain will also leave this country."[172]

Relations between the regime and the press further deteriorated following the formulation of the "socialist" agenda, the *Move to the Left*, in 1968. This period also coincided with an increased purge of the capitalist camp in the UPC. These developments threatened and eroded the international legitimacy of the regime. On the domestic front, the socialist agenda provoked stiff opposition from the right of the ideological spectrum.[173]

Perhaps, the most publicized act of repression of the press during this period involved the detention of the editor of a Kampala-based international journal (*Transition*), Rajat Neogy, and a vocal political critic of the regime, Abu Mayanja (MP). To begin with, the *Transition* had a reputation of publishing articles which were extremely critical of the regime. What led to the detention of two men was an article written by Mayanja which claimed that the pace of the Africanization of the judiciary had been extremely slow because the regime was waiting for qualified candidates from "friendly" ethnic groups. The ethnic groups the article had in mind belonged to the so-called Nilotic group. This suggested the existence of conflict between the Nilotic and Bantu groups, and patronage in the Africanization of the Judiciary. It also suggested a concerted attempt by Obote to politicize and curtail the independence of the judiciary. The article added that "The interesting point, however, is this, that far from wanting to change the outmoded Colonial laws, the Government of Uganda seems to be quite happy in retaining them and utilizing them especially those laws designed by the Colonial regime to suppress freedom of association and expression."[174]

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[170] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1966: 525B.

[171] See Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 1–35; "Uganda: An Outline of the New Constitution," *NEFA Bulletin*: 3; Nelson, "Newspapers in Uganda,": 30; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1965: 234C, 239C, 255AB, 257BC; April 1–30, 1965: 362A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1965: 365B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1966: 525B.

[172] Cited in "Uganda: An Outline of the New Constitution": 3.

[173] See A.C. Duffield, "Press Freedom," *Transition*, 36 (1968): 6; Davis Sebukima, "Obote's Infiltration of University Student Bodies," *Transition*, 38, 8 (June–July, 1971): 49.

The regime responded to the article by detaining the two men on October 15, 1968. On November 22, 1968, Mayanja and Neogy were formally charged with sedition. The presiding Chief Magistrate, M. Saied, however, threw the case out because it was not consistent with the sedition law in the Uganda Penal Code. The accused were subsequently released on February 1, 1969.[175] Soon after their release, they were rearrested and detained under the Emergency Powers in Buganda. The detention provoked international outcry from some major academic institutions in the UK and the USA. Since the institutions were more concerned about the internationally known Neogy than about Mayanja, the government released him. Upon his release, Neogy was deported to Britain.[176]

The impact of the repression on the press varied over time and depended on both the domestic and external environments. Generally, between 1962 and 1968, repression of the press was restrained. However, from 1968 to January 1971, there was very little freedom of expression and freedom of the press in the country. During this period, repression of the press reduced the amount and circulation of anti-regime publications in the country. It also deterred the local press from publishing any view which could easily lead to prosecution or detention. Generally, the arena for public debate on national affairs shrank tremendously during this period. Nonetheless, a section of the press evaded the repressive laws and legal technicalities by using coded language to present anti-regime views. For example, criticisms of the regime were sometimes published as criticisms against some mythical foreign governments. Some opponents of the regime also engaged in overt defiance of the repression of the press by promoting clandestine publications which openly attacked the regime. For example, the Secret Council distributed subversive pamphlets, published in both Luganda and English, from 1966 to 1968. However, overt defiance was quite risky and rare because of the State of Emergency and the overwhelming presence of government informers in Buganda.[177]

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[174] See Chief Magistrate, M. Saied, "The Judgment," *Transition* 38, 8 (June–July, 1971): 47. See also, Duffield, "Press Freedom": 6; Sebukima, "Obote's Infiltration of University Student Bodies": 49.

[175] Ibid: 48–9; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1969: 1300A; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 17–19; Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda:* 19–21.

[176] See Ogenga Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda," in Howard Adelman and Astri Shurke, eds., *The Path of Genocide: The Rwandan Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2000: 3–30; Mauri Yambo, "Ah Well, Back to the Drawing-Board," *Transition* 39, 8 (October, 1971): 10; Peter Rigby, "Letter to the Editor," *Transition,* 39, 8 (October, 1971): 10; P. J. Nkambo Mugerwa, "The Attorney General of Uganda on the Press," *Transition,* 39, 8 (October, 1971): 19–21; Engholm and Mazrui, *Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda*: 595–7. For a good discussion on how political repression become institutionalized through legal apparatus, see R. J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1978: 429–504.

Political Instability, Political Violence and Refugees

During this period, the presence of refugees from Rwanda, Congo and the Sudan contributed to the ensuing crisis of legitimacy, political instability and political violence. Here, the focus is primarily on Rwandese refugees because of the significance of their presence to the evolution of political violence and political instability in the country. A brief background is necessary.

In November 1959, political violence between the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda led to the massacre of thousands of the latter group. This violence sent thousands of Tutsi fleeing to Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Congo. Some of the refugees fled with many cattle.[178] By the time some of them arrived in Kigezi and Ankole, the colonial government was trying to address a number of problems: contain the political violence and political instability in many parts of Uganda, especially in Buganda, Bugishu, Bukedi and Toro (the Bakonjo and Baamba territories)[179]; control cattle disease in the country, a policy dating back to 1902 when the government enacted *The Cattle Disease Ordinance of 1902*[180]; complete the program to eradicate tsetse flies from western Uganda; and control the effects of the Mau Mau revolt from spilling over into Uganda by using the 1954 ordinance against the Mau Mau.[181]

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[177] "Uganda—Outside and inside," *Africa Confidential,* 25 (December 22, 1967): 7. This form of resistance to repression of the press and denial of freedom of speech is common in the history of the press. See, for example, R. J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1983, especially: 6–54; *Political Repression in Modern America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing, 1978, especially: 9, 70–76, 432–504; Hachten and Gifford, *The Press and Apartheid:* viii-5.

[178] R. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*. London: Pall Mall Press, 1970: 81.83, 146–173.

These problems, among other considerations, compelled the colonial government to declare that Rwandese refugees in Kigezi and Ankole districts (western Uganda) were illegal immigrants. The situation was exacerbated when the government received information from the Belgians that tens of thousands of Tutsi, with tens of thousands of cattle, were contemplating fleeing to Uganda.[182] This compelled the government to hastily enact rules which specifically prohibited the Tutsi from entering Uganda. These rules were published on December 4, 1959 as *The Aliens* (*Batutsi Immigrants*) *Rules*, *1959* (Legal Notice No. 311 of 1959).[183] The rules denied the refugees entry into the country. Those refugees that had arrived between November and December 3, 1959, were either confined to the quarantine area near the border or were forcibly repatriated.[184]

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[179] See Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda during April 1949*, especially: 16–17, 21–3, 31–65, 71–101; *Report of the Commission appointed to Review Boundary between the Districts of Bugishu and Bukedi*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962; *Report of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Eastern Province, 1960*. Entebbe: Government Printer, March 1962, especially: 14–15; *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*. Entebbe: Government Printer, September, 1959: 159–172; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Recent Disturbances Amongst the Baamba and Bakonjo People of Toro*; Mengo, *Buganda's Independence*.

[180] *The Cattle Disease Ordinance of 1902*. This ordinance was later reinforced by *The Cattle Disease (Amendment) Ordinance of 1913* and *The Cattle Disease Ordinance (Control Ordinance*) of June 23, 1954. See Uganda Protectorate, *The Cattle Disease Ordinance, 1902*; *The Cattle Disease (Amendment) Ordinance, 1913*. CO 612/6.

[181] See Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance to Make Provision for the Registration of Persons of the Kikuyu Tribe of Kenya, 22 February, 1954*. CO 684/9. For useful information on the Mau Mau revolt or revolution see C. Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt, 2005; G. Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1980: 25–311; T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau*. London: James Currey, 1987: 125–178.

[182] See, for example, Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; G. Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995: 47–48.

[183] Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*. Entebbe: The Government Printer, 29 February 1960: 164, 170. Evolution of refugee policies is highlighted by the following legislations: Uganda Protectorate, *The Refugees (Control and Expulsion) Ordinance, 1947*. CO 684/6; Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance to make Further and Better Provision for Regulation of Immigration into the Protectorate, No. 33 of 1947*. CO 684/6; Uganda

The measures the government took against the refugees infuriated some African members of the Legislative Council so much that they demanded that the government explain the rationale of the policy of refugee deterrence. The government offered the following reasons: there was no political persecution in Rwanda and the Tutsi who were fleeing Rwanda were either misinformed about the political situation or were political criminals; it was impossible to accommodate such a large number of illegal immigrants with their cattle anywhere in the country, particularly since western Uganda was already overstocked, overgrazed, lacked water and had not been totally reclaimed from tsetse fly; and that the cattle the Tutsi brought with them were diseased and would spread cattle disease in the country.[185]

This policy received the backing of some of the African members of the Legislative Council from Kigezi and Ankole, including J. Bikangaga and C.B. Katiti. However, the majority of the African members of the Council, including Obote, opposed it. For example, on February 29, 1960, Obote introduced a motion in the Council: "Revocation of the Batutsi Immigrants Rule." Obote's contribution on this motion will be cited in detail because it captured the position of the majority of the African representatives. It also provides a good background for analysis of political violence against and by the Tutsi refugees in Uganda from the 1960s to the 1990s.

Protectorate, *An Ordinance to amend the Immigration (Control) Ordinance, 1947, No. 18 of 1949*. CO 684/7; Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance to provide for the Registration and Control of Alliens, No. 23 of 1949*. CO 684/7; Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance to amend the Immigration (Control) Ordinance, No. 8 of 1953*. CO 684/9; Uganda Protectorate, *An Ordinance to Amend the Immigration (Control) Ordinance, No. 7 of 1954*. CO 684/9. See also, A. Kiapi, "The Legal Status of Refugees in Uganda: A Critical Study of Legislative Instruments." Paper presented at the Makerere Institute of Social Research, December 20, 1993:1–2.

[184] See contribution to debates on Tutsi immigrants by the Chief Secretary, in Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1959: 170–173. See also, Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Kiapi, "The Legal Status of Refugees in Uganda: A Critical Study of Legislative Instruments": 9.

[185] See the contribution to the debates by the Chief Secretary, Sir Charles Hartwell, and the Minister of Natural Resources, A. B. Killick, in Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1959: 170–173, 190–193.

> The reign of terror was so bad that the people of Ruanda wanted to seek safety somewhere. A number of them decided to seek refuge in Uganda… But I wish the House to know that they did not come as ordinary immigrants; they were running away from acts of violence which were the rule of the day in their country. They thought that peace could be obtained in Uganda and that the people would welcome them. Indeed, these people are kinsmen of the people of Ankole, of Uganda, and the only thing that any one of them could do was to go to a fellow brother to seek for his safety.... And this time there seems to be no reason whatsoever why the Government of Uganda should not have sympathised with the case of the Batutsi.... I am pleading for the whole of the Batutsi tribe [*sic*] who came to Uganda to seek for safety. I am pleading for the principle of offering asylum to people in need of it; and I am pleading for the case of people who are now being ruled by another race. I am pleading on behalf of the people of Uganda.... I ask the Uganda Government not to think very much of what other evidence they have received from the Belgian Government.... I want the door to be opened to these people to come to Uganda.[186]

Obote, W.W.K. Nadiope, J.K. Babiiha, A.G. Bazsanyamoso and C.J. Obwangor also insisted that it was morally unacceptable for the regime to deny asylum to the Tutsi when, without consulting Ugandans, it resettled some Polish, German, Austrian, Romanian, Bulgerian, Yugoslav and Italian refugees in the country during and after the Second World War.[187] The motion, however, was defeated.[188]

In September 1961, the Hutu-dominated party in Rwanda, the Parti du Mouvement et de l'Emancipation Hutu (PARMEHUTU), won a resounding victory in the elections. This was followed by the massacre and flight of many Tutsi to the neighboring countries.[189] The influx of Tutsi refugees into Uganda was partly encouraged by a change of official attitude toward the refugees. This change was a result of the granting of self-government to Uganda in 1961. Some of the refugees were immediately resettled in two reception centers: Kamwezi in Rukiga county (Kigezi District) and Kizinga in Rwampara county (Ankole district). Most of the refugees settled spontaneously with relatives and friends in Kigezi and Ankole.[190]

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[186] See contribution to the debates by Obote in Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1959: Ibid: 164–166, 195. See also, Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30.

[187] See contribution to the debates by A.G. Bazanyamaso in Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1959: 170. Some 7,000 Polish refugees, mainly women and children, were resettled in Nyabyeya (Masindi District) and Koja (Mpunge, Mukono District) between 1942 and 1945. Italian POWs were resettled in Jinja and Italian civil internees were resettled in Entebbe. Most of the Italians were brought from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somaliland. Some Germans, Austrians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, Hungarians and stateless Jews were settled at the Arapai camps, near Soroti. See, S. Lwanga-Lunyiigo, "Uganda's Long Connection with the Problem of Refugees: From the Polish Refugees of World War II to the Present." Paper presented at the Makerere Institute of Social Research, December 20, 1993.

[188] See Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 1959: 195–6.

While more Tutsi refugees were fleeing to Uganda, a group of Tutsi refugee warriors, the *Inyenzi*, invaded Rwanda in July 1961 and May 1962. The invasions generated political instability in Western Uganda and prompted the government to warn the refugees against using the country as a military base to attack Rwanda.[191] For example, in May 1962, the government warned that:

> Firm discipline is absolutely necessary if these refugees are to be made to behave in a manner which does not prejudice relations between Uganda and her neighbours. It is important that the Uganda government should begin to look outside her boundaries and not take decisions based only on possible political repercussions within Uganda itself… even though, by so doing, the government may alienate certain sections of the community within Uganda.[192]

Thereafter, it expelled 24 Tutsi refugees for their involvement in *Inyezi* armed invasions. To further contain the insecurity caused by the refugee warriors near the Uganda-Rwanda border, it relocated the refugees from Nakivale to Ibuga refugee settlement.[193]

Despite these measures, refugee warriors, including those from Congo and Sudan, continued to carry out cross-border invasions against their home countries. In July 1963, the activities of some of the refugees forced Obote to warn them against cross-border invasions:

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[189] See Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 150–151, 160, 196.

[190] See Uganda Protectorate, Uganda *Legislative Council Elections, 1961*. Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1961, especially: 1–23; Otunnu, “Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda”: 3–30.

[191] See Otunnu, “Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda”: 3–30; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 208.

[192] Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: Ibid.

[193] Ibid.

> I wish to make it clear that I will not tolerate this sort of activity.… We have no intention within the context of the Addis Ababa spirit and Charter of allowing Uganda to be used as a base for any attacks or subversion against any African state.… If [our] hospitality is abused, and refugees use or attempt to use Uganda as a base to attack our neighbours, we shall have no alternative but to withdraw the protection we granted to these people. [194]

The government also issued a warning that was directed specifically at Sudanese refugees: "If the Sudanese wish to settle down in a new life here they are welcome. But if they come here merely to use Uganda as a springboard for attacks and subversion against a friendly neighboring government, they are jeopardizing our international relations and reputation. We are not going to allow that to happen."[195] This was followed by the arrest of some leaders of the southern Sudanese refugees, including J.H. Oduho of the Sudanese African National Union (SANU), and the relocation of some of the refugees from Moyo to Ibuga.[196]

The invasions by the Tutsi refugee warriors provoked more anti-Tutsi political violence in Rwanda. The result was that more Tutsi fled to Uganda. For example, the Minister of Community Development, L. Kalule-Settala, reported that 7652 Rwandese refugees arrived in the country between May and September 1962. These refugees, together with those who had preceded them, were resettled in Ankole District. The resettlement plan was as follows: 8000 cattle owners were resettled south of Lake Nakivali; 11,000 non-cattle owners were resettled in the Oruchinga Valley; and 4000 non-cattle owners were kept in the Oruchinga Relief Camp awaiting resettlement in the Oruchinga Valley. At that time, the total number of Rwandese refugees who were registered with the government was 23,000. An estimated 10,000 unregistered Rwandese refugees had settled spontaneously with relatives and friends in the Kigezi and Ankole

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[194] Cited in Ibid.

[195] See *Weekly News*, Dar es Salaam, 8 November, 1963: 3, cited in A. R. Sekiki, "The Social Problems and Political Predicament of Refugees." Master's thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, March 1972: 11–12.

[196] See Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Sekiki, "The Social Problems and Political Predicament of Refugees": 12–3; Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly. Part III.* Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962: 515–575; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1968: 1155A; O. Otunnu, "Refugee Movements from the Sudan: An Overview Analysis," *Refuge* 13, 8 (January, 1994): 4–5, 7–8.

Districts.[197] According to the 1962/1963 Government's Annual Report, some 10,000 Rwandese refugees crossed into Uganda, bringing the total number of registered Rwandese refugees to about 40,000. They fled with a total of approximately 30,000 head of cattle.[198]

As many more refugees fled to Uganda, the government established more reception centers: Nakivale Refugee Settlement in Ishingiro county, Ankole (1962); Oruchinga Valley refugee Settlement near Nakivale (1963); the Ibunga Refugee Settlement in Bunyagabu county, Toro district (1963); Kahunge, Rwamwanja and Kaka settlements in Toro district (1964); and the Kyangwali Refugee settlement in Bunyoro district (1966) (see Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3).[199]

The presence of such a large number of refugees presented a considerable financial and logistical responsibility for the government. Initially, the government was quite generous to the refugees because it thought that they would not stay in the country for long. However, when it became increasingly clear that most of the refugees were going to stay in the country indefinitely, hospitality fatigue set in and the government became less generous. This change in the treatment of the refugees was partly influenced by lack of responsibility sharing with the international community. The growing economic crisis in the country also contributed to hospitality fatigue. Hostility toward refugees was also influenced by the fact that the host communities questioned the legitimacy of a government that was able to help refugees but could not meet some of the basic economic needs of its own people. It was, therefore, not surprising that Dorothea Hunter of Oxfam made the following observation in her report of August–September 1968:

> My observations concern only refugees in Uganda, whose total number is now 163,000, an enormous burden for a country of only 7.9 million people.... Last year I had the impression that Government still hoped that many, if not most of them would return home. However, despite the setting

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[197] See Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Uganda Protectorate, *Proceedings of the National Assembly*. Entebbe: The Government Printer, September, 1962: 438–9.

[198] Uganda Government, *Uganda, 1962–1963*. Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1964: 32.

[199] See Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Helle-Valle, "Banyarwanda in Uganda": 138–140; E. D. Mushemeza, "Refugees and International Relations: A Case of Uganda and Her Nieghbours, 1960–1990." Paper presented at the Makerere Institute of Social Research, December 20, 1993: 21.

Table 4.1 Total number of refugees living in Uganda, January 1, 1966 to January 1, 1967

Group of refugees	*Number on*	*Number on*
Area of settlement	1.1.1966	1.1.1967
1. **Rwandese**		
(a) Oruchinga	12,500	11,500
(b) Nakivale	6500	8009
(c) Kahunge	5500	6793
(d) Ibuga	800	717
(e) Rwamanja	2600	2500
(f) Kyaka	2000	1956
(g) Kinyara	3500	2820
Sub-Total	33,400	34,295
2. **Sudanese**		
(a) Nakapiripirit	2800	6129
(b) Onigo	500	2899
(c) Kiburara	50	70
(d) Agago	1550	1883
(e) Koboko	12,000	–
(f) Bombo	150	–
Sub-Total	17,050	10,981
3. **Congolese**		
(a) Acolpii	–	832
(b) Agago	2200	444
(c) Kyaka	–	300
(d) Arua	300	–
(e) Ombachi	140	–
(f) Rwimi	400	–
(g) Mwaeru	70	–
Sub-Total	3100	1576
Total	53,560	46,852
B. Outside Settlements		
1. **Rwandese**	32,000	34,000
2. **Sudanese**	27,000	44,000
3. **Congolese**	25,000	32,000
Total	**84,000**	**110,000**

Source: *Progress Report on Refugee Situation in Uganda*. March, 1967 (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University)

up of the Special Fund For Voluntary Repatriation, the provisions for which were to be executed between all the Governments concerned, the obvious lack of enthusiasm in taking up this opportunity among the refugees themselves has now convinced Government that the majority of them are determined to remain in the country if they possibly can. This conclusion has been reached only now, at a time when the UNHCR's responsibility for

Table 4.2 Number of refugees in Uganda in 1969 and 1970

Rwandese	*USCR*
Year	Number
1969	70,500
1970	71,000
Sudanese	
Year	Real number
1969	71,500
1970	71,500
Zairians	Real Number
1969	34,000
1970	34,500

Sources: US Committee for Refugees

Table 4.3 Size of settlements and allocation of land per Rwandese family in 1969

Settlement	*Sq. Miles*	*Acres per family*
Kahunge	72	10
Rwamwanja	54	10
[a]Ibuga	16	10
Kyaka	–	–
Oruchinga	13	10
[b]Kyangwali	50	10
Nakivale	40	10

Source: World Alliance of YMCA, "Report of visits to the Refugee Settlements of Uganda made by the YMCA African Refugee Secretary: with special reference to the work being undertaken by the YMCA Agricultural Field Assistance. Nairobi (27/11/1969)," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University)

[a] The total land was 24 sq. miles. Out of this, 8 sq. miles was allocated to the National Youth Service.

[b] When Kinyara was closed down, the refugees were transferred to Kyangwali.

the refugees is beginning to be phased out. Government is therefore now faced with the responsibility for some 50,000 refugees spread about in 12 settlements, quite apart from any problem which might arise among the remaining 113,000 understood to be living outside the camps.[200]

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[200] Dorothea Hunter, "Report of Visits in East Africa, August–September 1968," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University): 1. See also, Assistant Director of Refugees in the Ministry of Culture and Community Development, S. K. Katenta Apuli, to Oxfam, Oxford, "Proposed Request for Assistance for Refugee Settlements, May 22, 1969,"

As meeting the needs of the refugees continued to erode the limited legitimacy the regime enjoyed in the rural areas where the refugees were settled, the government threatened to expel the refugees unless the international community provided immediate assistance. For example, as early as March 1964, the host communities began to complain that the government was spending scarce national resources on the refugees, not on the masses that desperately needed them. This complaint, among other related considerations, forced the Minister of Information, Nekyon, to tell the OAU conference in Lagos that, "Uganda has no alternative… but to send some of these people away, unless Uganda received help."[201] He also suggested that the assistance that the Uganda government provided to Rwandese refugees "had been spent … on the purchase of arms. Refugees were even selling the food given to them by the Uganda Government in order to send money to their King. They have abused Uganda's hospitality by forming groups to invade Rwanda to overthrow the Government."[202] The government also complained about refugee warriors who were using refugee camps to recruit rebels to attack their home governments. Such activities, it insisted, made it extremely difficult to provide security to the host communities and innocent refugees.[203]

The threat to expel the refugees prompted some international humanitarian organizations and agencies, such as the United National Health Committee for Refugees, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, the Red Cross, Save the Children Fund, YMCA, Oxfam and the United

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(deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University): 1–4; The Adviser on Zonal Rural Development, Oxfam, T. F. Betts, "Request Settlement in Uganda, August 18, 1967," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); L. Capplelletti (U.N. Deputy Resident Representative, U.N.D.P), A. T. Nielsen (Representative, U.N.H.C.R.) and T. F. Betts (Adviser on Zonal Rural Development, Oxfam), "Memorandum: Sudanese Refugees—Uganda, Kampala, June 25, 1969," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University): 1–4; T. F. Betts, "Sudanese Refugees—Northern Uganda, June 21, 1969," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University): 1–2; M. Harper (Field Director, Oxfam), "UGA 16A/8901—Sudanese Refugees in Uganda, May 30, 1969," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University): 1–6; African Refugee Secretary, World Alliance of YMCA, "Report of Visits to the Refugee Settlements of Uganda, November 27, 1969," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); S. K. Katenta Apuli, Ministry of Culture and Community Development, "Request for Assistance in Refugee Settlements, May 23, 1969," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University).

[201] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, (March, 1964): 37A.

[202] Ibid.

[203] See Uganda Government, *Uganda, 1962–1963*: 32–33.

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), to increase the assistance to the refugees. However, this was not enough to save the government from spending substantial resources to meet the basic needs of the refugees.[204]

During this period, relations between the government and Tutsi refugees further deteriorated. This time, the problems stemmed in part from the political activities of President and Kabaka Mutesa and the Umwami (King) of Rwanda, Kigeri IV. To begin with, when the latter was deposed from power after the elections in Rwanda, he fled to Buganda, where he was President Mutesa's guest. Relations between the two leaders were strengthened by a close collaboration between their parties: the KY and the Abadehemuka. This collaboration, which grew during the period of violent conflict between the UPC and the KY, suggested to Obote that the two "kings" and their parties were conspiring to topple him. Furthermore, the collaboration between Mutesa and Kigeri encouraged insurgency activities by Tutsi refugee warriors against Rwanda. Since the insurgencies were sponsored from Uganda and with the tacit approval of President Mutesa, Uganda was in direct violation of the Charter of the OAU which prohibited a member state from supporting subversive activities against another member state. The insurgencies also violated Article III of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. This article prohibited subversive activities by refugees and mandated the host country to prevent refugees from attacking a member state of the OAU.[205]

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[204] Hunter, "Report of Visits to East Africa, August–September 1968," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); Assistant Director of Refugees in the Ministry of Culture and Community Development, Apuli, "Proposed Request for Assistance from Oxfam," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme); Adviser on Zonal Rural Development, Oxfam, T Betts, "Request Settlement in Uganda," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford university); Capplelletti (U.N.D.P), Nielsen (U.N.H.C.R.) and Betts (Oxfam), "Memorandum: Sudanese Refugees—Uganda," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); Betts, "Sudanese Refugees—Northern Uganda," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); Harper (Field Director, Oxfam), "UGA 16A/8901—Sudanese Refugees in Uganda," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); African Refugee Secretary, World Alliance of YMCA, "Report of Visits to Refugee Settlements in Uganda made by the YMCA African Refugee Secretary with Special Reference to the work being undertaken by the YMCA Agricultural Field Assistants," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University).

Another factor that accounted for the deterioration of relations between the government and Tutsi refugees was the pressure exerted on the former by Hutu immigrants. The immigrants pressured the government to stop the Tutsi from causing instability in Uganda and Rwanda. The immigrants could not be ignored because they constituted the overwhelming majority of the 378,656 Rwandese immigrants and refugees in Uganda in 1964.[206] To be sure, some Tutsi refugees who were highly placed in Obote's government, including Frank Kalimuzo and Grace Ibingira, joined the Hutu to pressure the regime to clamp down on the refugees.[207] This pressure, compounded by the insecurity caused by the refugees, forced the government to expel the deposed Umwami, Kigeri IV, from the country.[208] It also prompted the government to amend the law on aliens, thus making "it an offense for anyone to harbour a refugee without official permission." This amendment was intended to force the refugees to stay in designated settlements. Another amendment gave "the Director of Refugees power to order any refugee to return to the territory from which he [*sic*] came, or to his own country."[209]

During this period, the UNHCR also exerted pressure on the states hosting Tutsi refugees to control the political and military activities of refugees. The UNHCR expected that such a measure would make it difficult for Tutsi refugee warriors to provoke more violence against Tutsi in Rwanda. If the Hutu government in Kigali was not provoked by the refugee warriors, the UNHCR reasoned, very few Tutsi would flee the country. Such a development would make it a bit easier for the agency and the host countries to protect and assist the refugees.[210] In fact, it had become impossible for the UNHCR and the host countries to protect the refugees because of the insecurity the refugee warriors caused in their country of origin and the host communities. It had also become impossible to protect the refugees because the host communities were attacking the refugees for taking land, jobs and social services from the indigenous population. The growing anti-Tutsi sentiments in the host communities further suggested to the UNHCR the need to prevent more Tutsi from becoming refugees. The best way to do so was to prevent the refugee warriors from engaging in cross-border raids.[211]

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[205] See Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 208–209; E. Nabuguzi, "Refugees and Politics in Uganda." Paper presented at the Makerere Institute of Social Research, December 20, 1993: 18; The *Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa*, 1969: Article III.

[206] See Uganda Government, *Uganda, 1964*. Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1965: 18–9.

[207] See Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 206–7.

[208] Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 209.

[209] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1964: 203C–204A. See also, Kiapi, "The Legal Status of Refugees in Uganda": 10–13.

These measures, however, did not reduce the growing anti-Rwandese sentiments in Uganda. In Buganda, for example, many Baganda peasants complained bitterly that immigrants and refugees had taken their land.[212] They then demanded the expulsion of the refugees and immigrants from their land: "'The plots should be taken away from foreigners.' 'The people who brought in the foreigners must send them back to the land where they came from.' 'They should all be chased away.'"[213]

Rwandese refugees also continued to face discrimination and violence in Ankole. To begin with, in the 1920s, the majority of Hutu immigrants were accommodated in Ankole by their cousins, the Bairu. This was followed by the arrival of tens of thousands of Tutsi refugees. The presence of the Tutsi, however, provoked anti-Tutsi sentiments in the area. A number of factors accounted for this development. First, the Tutsi had oppressed and exploited the cousins of the Bairu, the Hutu, for centuries. The Bairu, as such, did not want the persecutors of their cousins to settle in Ankole. Secondly, the arrival of Tutsi refugees in the 1950s and 1960s coincided with increased power struggles between the Hima and Bairu in Ankole.[214] One of the strategies the Hima employed to maintain their waning hegemony over the Bairu was to recruit their cousins, the Tutsi, to swell their ranks. This strategy brought Tutsi refugees into the power struggles in Ankole. Thirdly, the alliance between the predominantly Catholic Tutsi and the DP in Ankole turned some Banyankole members of the UPC, who were predominantly Protestants, against the Tutsi. These factors compelled the local UPC establishment in Ankole to ask the government to enforce the law by keeping the refugees out of local and national politics. Some Banyankole, both Hima and Bairu, also demanded the relocation of the refugees from Ankole because they were taking away land, jobs and social services from the host communities.[215]

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[210] See Otunnu, "Rwandese Refugees and Immigrants in Uganda": 3–30; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 209–227; Karrim Essack, *Civil War in Rwanda*. Dar es Salaam: Forem Litho Printers, n.d: 6.

[211] See Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*: 211.

[212] See A. I. Richards, ed. *Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*. Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1952: 196.

[213] Ibid: 197.

[214] See Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*: 73–4.

These mounting pressures on the government coincided with increased unemployment in the country, the abortive assassination of Obote, increased repression against political opponents of the government and the unveiling of the Common Man's Charter. The Common Man's Charter, among other things, advocated a policy of Ugandanization of employment and land ownership. This meant that if the policies were implemented, refugees would have difficulty gaining employment or owning land. To keep the refugees out of both local and national politics, the government proposed to provide identity cards for them. However, this policy was overtaken by the Amin coup of January 1971. Nonetheless, Tutsi refugees had already became quite hostile toward the UPC and Obote. This hostility would partly encourage them to join the Amin regime in the 1970s and the Museveni anti-Obote guerrillas in the 1980s.[216]

The Crisis of Legitimacy and the Control of Migration of Ugandans

As political violence intensified in Buganda, the regime decided to control the migration of Ugandans to the neighboring countries. This policy of denying some Ugandans the right to flee persecution and seek asylum was intended to achieve two objectives: suggest to the international community and foreign investors that the country was calm and peaceful; and prevent potential refugees from becoming refugee warriors and destabilizing the country from abroad. To control the flight of some Ugandans, especially those from Buganda who faced persecution at home, the regime had to control the most important and preferable flight route through Kenya. Accordingly, it signed a diplomatic agreement with Kenya, or what the Kenyan government referred to as "a defence against panic" by the Baganda. This agreement made it extremely difficult for Baganda to be granted asylum and protection in Kenya. The regime also passed a decree requiring any Ugandan leaving the country to obtain an exit permit. This reverse policy of refugee deterrance, embodied in the agreement and the decree, curtailed the number of refugees fleeing persecution in the country.[217]

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[215] Helle-Valle, "Banyarwanda in Uganda": 145–146, 155; Respondents No. 24, five Rwandese refugees, interview with author, Mbarara, July 3, 1983; Respondents No. 25, interview by author, eight Uganda Banyarwanda/Bafumbira and three Rwandese refugees, Kisoro, August 9, 1983; Respondents No. 1, 20 former members of District Council and 31 ordinary Ugandans, Gulu, Jinja, Mbarara and Soroti, June–August, 1984.

[216] For the policy of Ugandanization of employment and land ownership, see, for example, A. M. Obote, *The Common Man's Charter*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1970.

The Crisis of Legitimacy in the Army

Immediately after independence, Ugandan soldiers demanded a speedy Africanization of the armed forces and improved working conditions. To these soldiers, decolonization meant the control of the armed forces by Ugandan officers and the elimination of the racially constructed salary structure in the armed forces. Like other Ugandans, the soldiers expected decolonization to improve their standard of living. However, a year after independence none of these expectations had been met.[218] According to Professor Omara-Otunnu, the situation was exacerbated by the rigid command structure which made it extremely difficult for the soldiers to express their grievances directly, speedily and in a non-violent manner to those in authority.[219]

According to the government, the pace of the Africanization of the armed forces, like that of the civil service, was slow because of lack of trained Ugandans to replace the expatriates. It also maintained that it was unable to spend money to modernize the military and raise the salaries of the troops because the country needed money to improve health care and education.[220]

The stalemate between the regime and the army led to a mutiny by the First Battalion at Jinja in January 1964. The mutiny took place immediately after similar ones in Tanganyika and Kenya. The three mutinies had three things in common: they highlighted the high expectations that accompanied the transition from colonialism to neocolonialism; demanded the immediate Africanization of the armed forces and targeted expatriate officers.[221]

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[217] Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda: 1900–1986:* 439; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1966: 552C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1966: 532C.

[218] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 25, 1992; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda:* 50.

[219] Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda:* 50.

[220] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 25, 1992; Ingham, *Obote*: 92–3; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1964: 75A; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda:* 52–3.

The regime responded by sealing off Uganda's borders and deploying armed police in strategic places in and around Jinja, Entebbe and Kampala. It then accepted an offer by the British High Commissioner to Uganda, Sir David Hunt, to invite the Staffordshire Regiment from Kenya to put down the mutiny. In the meantime, it dispatched the Minister of Defence, Onama, to Jinja to persuade the soldiers to end the mutiny. However, immediately after he arrived, he was detained by a handful of soldiers who threatened not to release him until their demands were met. In a state of panic, Onama announced considerable pay increases for senior Non-Comissioned Officers. He also promised to look into the other grievances. This effectively ended the mutiny.[222]

Since the mutiny had ended, the British troops that arrived from Kenya took over the barracks without a gun fire. Thereafter, 500 Ugandan soldiers were dismissed from the army. The regime also imprisoned four soldiers who had detained Onama. To appease the rest, the government endorsed the pay increases which Onama had promised. It also raised the salaries of low-ranking army officers, the police and prison officers. Thereafter, it began to speedily Africanize the command structure of the armed forces.[223]

A number of questions have been raised by many political commentators on how Obote handled the mutiny: why did Obote not consult with the Commander-in-Chief, President Mutesa, before he invited the British troops? Why did Obote not handle the mutiny heavy-handedly like his colleagues in Tanganyika and Kenya? How would the regime keep the military under control? The way many political commentators formulate such questions and the answers they provide suggest the following: that Obote was willing to disregard constitutional requirements to enhance his power; that Obote handled the mutiny in a very incompetent manner;

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[221] Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda:* 54–59; Tito Okello, interview by author, July 23, 1992.

[222] Tito Okello, interview by author, July 23, 1992; Ingham, *Obote*: 92–3; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1964: 75A.

[223] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 59–62.

that the incompetence was an evidence of Obote's lack of leadership skills; that the manner in which he handled the mutiny brought the military into politics and paved way for the 1971 coup.[224]

These popular views are generally misleading. To begin with, Obote did not alert President Mutesa because the latter was mobilizing ex-servicemen and other Baganda to prevent the referendum from taking place in the Lost Counties. There were also rumors that the Buganda government and the Ibingira faction of the UPC were trying to recruit some aggrieved soldiers, especially those from Buganda, Ankole and Teso, to destabilize the government during and after the Lost Counties referendum. Another factor which influenced Obote's action was his understanding of the constitution which indicated that President Mutesa was a ceremonial Commander-in-Chief. These factors suggested to Obote that consulting with President Mutesa was politically risky and not necessary. By ignoring Mutesa, however, Obote's action suggested to his critics and challengers that he was prepared to disregard or manipulate constitutional requirements to boost his power. The action also increased tension and suspicion between the Prime Minister and the President.[225]

The answer to the next question lies in Obote's understanding of the unique political circumstances in Uganda. According to Omara-Otunnu, Obote was not as worried as his colleagues in Kenya and Tanganyika because the bulk of the army originated from friendly territories of the north: Acoli and Lango.[226] Other factors were equally important. Unlike his colleagues, Obote was facing a very violent challenge to his legitimacy and that of state over the proposed Lost Counties referendum. Similarly, his legitimacy had come under serious attack from his challengers in the UPC. During this period, the Cold War in Congo had also spilled over to the western part of the country and posed a major threat to national security and the political survival of Obote. Another factor was that Obote had demanded the Africanization of the civil service during the colonial era. As such, he was aware that the demands by the military were genuine and similar to the demands for the Africanization of the civil service. He was also aware that the mutiny by the army was not substantively different from the strikes by members of the trade unions in the country. Finally, unlike in Kenya and Tanganyika, where many soldiers were violently involved in the mutinies, only a handful of soldiers in Jinja participated in detaining the Minister of Defence. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the aggrieved soldiers in Jinja refused to engage in any violent activity during what was essentially a peaceful sit-down strike. These factors dictated a policy of guarded appeasement toward the army.[227]

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[224] Ibingira, "Human Rights Violations Excesses,": 6; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 521, 525–6.

[225] Tito Okello, Commander of the Defence Forces (CDF), conversation with author, Nakasero, Kampala, March 15, 1983; Ingham, *Obote*: 92.

[226] See Omara Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 54–64.

The final question refers to how Obote would keep the army under civilian control. Obote attempted to do this by increasing direct civilian authority in the armed forces. He also re-organized the administration of the army to avoid such grievances from leading to a rebellion. He then established the GSU in April 1964. The creation of this organization was not made known to parliament until July 1964. The General Service Units operated as a counter-intelligence agency under the guise of the Protocol section in the office of the Prime Minister. It was headed by Obote's cousin, Naphtali Akena Adoko. Most of its estimated 1000 members were strong supporters of the Obote faction of the UPC. Their major assignments were to gather information on soldiers, politicians, students, civil servants and traders. Soon, the GSU acquired more power and resources than the army. This made some members of the army regard it as Obote's private army. This perception eroded Obote's credibility and legitimacy in the army.[228]

As a direct response to the growing instability in Buganda and Western Uganda, Obote created the Police Special Force (SPF). The SPF was headed by a senior Acoli police officer, Odongkara. Its members were strong supporters of the Obote faction of the UPC. In theory, the SPF was an anti-smuggling and anti-cattle rustling unit of the police. In practice, however, it became another branch of the army. Within a very short period, the SPF became so powerful that a section of the army saw it as another "personal army" of Obote. This perception created more tension in the army, and between the army and the SPF. It further eroded Obote's support in the army.[229]

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[227] Tito Okello, conversation with author, April 2, 1983; Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992.

[228] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 371–2, 524–5; Ingham, *Obote*: 91, 132; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1964: 112C.

[229] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 524–5.

Another strategy Obote adopted was to purge the army of army officers whose loyalty to him was questionable. The purge was a direct response to actionable intelligence which indicated that some of his political opponents had infiltrated the army. Some anti-Obote soldiers were either dismissed from the army or were transferred to less sensitive positions. Most of these soldiers originated from Buganda and Ankole. The ethnic composition of those purged suggested that the regime, led by a northerner and protected largely by soldiers from the north (Nilotics), had declared war against the south (Bantu). While Obote purged the army, he also promoted some of the alleged leaders of the faction of the army that was collaborating with his political opponents to oust him. For example, in June 1964, he promoted Colonel Shaban Opolot to succeeded Colonel Groome as the Commander of the Army. On September 8, 1964, he promoted Opolot to the rank of a Brigadier. This strategy of divide and rule temporarily disorganized his challengers in the army.[230]

By March 1965 the political opponents of Obote had intensified their demand to have Colonel Amin removed from the army for his "questionable" activities. This created more uncertainty and instability in the army. During this period, anti-Obote forces in the army, led by Opolot, plotted to topple Obote. When the plot was uncovered in October 1965, the army experienced more instability and tension.[231] The instability intensified during the 1966 war in Buganda when the anti-Obote faction of the army provided some arms, ammunition and military uniforms to Mutesa's supporters. Some members of this faction were subsequently dismissed from the army or, like Major S. Kakkuhire, were transferred to less strategic locations.[232]

The arrest and detention of members of the anti-Obote faction of the army continued. For example, in August 1966, Captain Douglas Ongodia and Captain Francis Erimma were found guilty of charges of conspiracy to arrest Obote. They were subsequently sentenced by the General Court Martial to four years and three years imprisonment, respectively. On October 7, 1966, the army commander, Opolot, was dismissed from the army on charges of conspiracy to topple Obote. He was subsequently detained under the Emergency Regulations. Some of the senior officers who were dismissed from the army during this period included Major Senkooto, Captain Kamya and Captain Mugambe. These officers lost their jobs because it was reported that they had provided arms and uniforms to Mutesa's troops during the engagement that forced Mutesa out of the country. These developments contained anti-regime activities in the army.[233]

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[230] Respondents No. 26, Brigadier Basilio (Brigade Commander of the 10th Brigade), Major Opwonya (Director of Signal Communication) and Major Dr. Kweya (Director of Medical Services), conversation with author, Kololo, Kampala, May 2, 1985; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 521, 525–6; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 60, 62; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1964: 110C–111A; September 1–30, 1964: 147C.

[231] Respondents No. 26; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 20–7; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 2–4; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1966: 593C.

[232] See Major General Maruru's testimony, Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 525–6.

Following the demise of the anti-Obote faction of the army, two camps emerged in the army. The first was the pro-Obote camp. This was the camp that had provided crucial support to Obote from 1966 to 1969. The overwhelming members of this camp were Langi. The rest of the members came from every ethnic and religious group in the army. This camp was led by Obote's most trusted and most loyal officer: Idi Amin. Some of the leading officers in the camp included: Brigadier Husein, Colonel Omoya, Brigadier Okoya and Major Oyite Ojok. The presence of many high-ranking and ambitious officers in the camp, however, made the camp less cohesive.[234]

The second camp referred to itself as the non-aligned. This camp comprised those soldiers who did not want to take sides in the ensuing political struggles in the country. Most of the senior officers who belonged to this camp were waiting to be retired from the army by 1972. Some of the most notable members of this camp were Colonel Tito Okello, Colonel Thomas Luyira, Major Timoni Langoya, Colonel Mwaka and Captain Basilio Okello. The overwhelming majority of these soldiers were Acoli.[235]

Tension, instability and fragmentation in the army also resulted from the creation of the Military Police on January 1, 1967. The Military Police was mandated to restore discipline and weed out anti-regime elements from the army. The establishment of this force coincided with another wave of demands from the political opponents of Obote to suspend Amin from the army, pending investigation into the manner in which he handled the 1966 raid on the Kabaka's palace. This demand made Amin quite insecure. The situation was made worse for Amin by a rumor that some opponents of Obote wanted Brigadier Okoya (an Acoli) to remove him and Obote from power. This rumor originated from the request made to Obote by a UPC delegation on February 11, 1966, that he should temporarily hand over power to Brigadier Okoya. The rumor gained some credibility because of the increasingly assertive presence of the "non-aligned" camp which was perceived as a camp opposed to Obote and Amin.[236] Amin felt even more insecure when another rumor circulated between June and October 1967 that the Chairman of the Military Tribunal, Colonel Omoya (an Acoli), was going to replace him. To contain the instability caused by these rumors, Obote assured Amin of his unwavering support.[237] This assurance, however, did not stop Amin from recruiting his own people into the Military Police to guarantee his security. The recruitment was also intended to make it difficult for Obote to give in to the demand of his political challengers to suspend Amin and investigate some of his activities.[238]

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[233] See Major General Maruru's testimony, Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 525–6.

[234] Respondents No. 26, Brigadier Basilio, Major Opwonya and Major Dr. Kweya, Kololo, Kampala, May 2, 1985; Lieutenant-General, Basilio Okello, Commander of the Defence Forces (CDF), interview by author, Kampala, September 3, 1985.

[235] See Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 20–27; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1966: 593C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1966: 640AB.

Following the failed assassination attempt on Obote on December 9, 1969, Amin disappeared for a while. This happened because he thought that those who were after Obote were also after him. While Obote understood why Amin had acted that way, the Deputy Army Commander, Brigadier Okoya, openly accused Amin of deserting the army. This accusation, compounded by the rumors since February 11, 1966 that Okoya was planning to topple Obote and Amin, led to the assassination of Okoya and his wife in Gulu in January 1970. During this turbulent period, another senior Acoli officer, Colonel Omoya, was murdered in what many Acoli army officers perceived as a planned motor accident.[239]

Acholi army officers came up with a number of possible explanations about the assassinations. The first suggested that Amin was responsible for the assassinations of Omoya and Okoya because he thought that the two officers were after him and his job. The second suggested that Obote was responsible for the incidents because his political opponents, including some cabinet ministers and some UPC officials, wanted the two officers to replace him and Amin, respectively. The third assertion was that Obote eliminated the two officers because he thought that Acoli soldiers were allying with unfriendly ethnic groups to topple him from power. This viewpoint also presented the clash between the Acoli and Lango District Councils, and between Acoli District and the Central government in 1967 and 1968, as part of Obote's war against the Acoli. Another ethnic version suggested that Obote deliberately created tensions between Okoya and Amin, and between Omoya and Amin in order to eliminate the three officers and gradually replace them with Langi officers. According to this assertion, Obote set up Amin and then eliminated the two Acoli officers. The elimination of the two Acoli officers, it further asserted, implicated Amin so much that Obote had enough reasons to remove Amin from the army. These assertions became quite popular when neither Obote nor Amin attended the burial of Omoya; when Obote declined to investigate the murder of Omoya; and when the report of the investigation into the assassination of Okoya was not forthcoming. At that point, a complementary claim emerged: that the incidents were planned jointly by Obote and Amin. This assertion was based on the fact that Obote and Amin remained very close allies after the incidents. According to this assertion, both men had the intentions and resources to eliminate the two Acoli officers.[240]

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[236] Respondents No. 26, Brigadier Basilio, Major Opwonya and Major Dr. Kweya, Kololo, Kampala, May 2, 1985; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 62.

[237] *The People*, cited in "Uganda-Outside and in," *Africa Confidential,* 25 (December 22, 1967): 8.

[238] Brigadier Ali Fadul, former Acting Chief of Staff and Governor of Northern Province, interview by author, Moyo, October 7, 1985; Adoko, *Uganda Crisis*: 22.

[239] Tito Okello, conversation with author, Nakasero, May 4, 1983; Tito Okello, interview by author, July 25, 1992; Respondents No. 17.

Throughout 1970, Acoli soldiers pressured Obote to release the report on the murder of Okoya. Toward the end of the year, rumors circulated in Kampala that Obote had instructed the Director of the Criminal Investigations Division (CID), Hassan, to implicate Amin in the murder.[241] The rumor coincided with the growing demand from Obote's opponents to investigate Amin's questionable activities in the army. Although Obote appeared to believe that Amin was innocent and that his opponents were trying to remove Amin so that they could topple him, [242] he reluctantly agreed to set up an independent commission to investigate the allegations about Amin's misconduct in the army. He then summoned Amin to the State House and told him about the investigation. He assured Amin that the commission would clear him of any wrong doing. This meeting took place on the eve of Obote's departure for the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore in January 1971. Although Amin accepted Obote's assurance, he was concerned that the investigation would begin while his strongest and most reliable supporter, Obote, was out of the country.[243]

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[240] Tito Okello, interview by author, July 25, 1992; Respondents No. 17, six former senior UNLA officers, London, December 8, 1994. For a discussion of the clash between Acoli and Lango District Councils, and between Acoli and the Central government, see, Gertzel, "The Politics of Underdevelopment": 19. See also, Lt. Col. F. Agwa, "Did the UPC, Dr. Obote and Langi Kill the Okoyas and Omoya?" Press release, London, February 27, 1994. This press release refuted the theories that Obote was involved in the assassinations of the two high-ranking Acoli soldiers.

[241] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 24–6.

On the day of Obote's departure for the Commonwealth Conference, Amin, together with other high-ranking military officers and Cabinet Ministers, escorted the President to the airport. However, contrary to established military protocol, Amin left the airport before Obote had boarded the plane. Immediately after he left, some high-ranking military officers reported this unusual behavior to the President. However, Obote ignored it because he thought that the officers were trying to create unnecessary friction between him and the Commander of the Army. Thereafter, Obote left for the conference.[244]

By the time he left for the conference, Obote had become one of the most vocal and respected critics of the policies of major Western governments toward South Africa, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).[245] He had also become one of the leading and respected voices in the Non-Aligned movement. T.K. Hopkins pointed out what Obote's ideological position in the movement meant in the West: "For in terms of foreign policy-which in time came to play a considerable part in Uganda's politics—Mutesa was strongly pro-West, in particular, strongly pro-British. Obote, in contrast, adhered much more closely to a policy of non-alignment, which meant, given the existing relations between Uganda and Britain and, through these, between Uganda and the West generally, a preference for relaxing some of the ties with the West and for developing some ties with the East."[246]

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[242] See Adoko, Uganda *Crisis*: 22.

[243] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 25, 1992; Basilio, interview by author, September 3, 1985. Obote's own account is contained in Ingham, *Obote*: 134–5.

[244] "Uganda: Outline of the New Constitution," *NEFA Bulletin*: 4; Obote, *Myths and Realities*: 26, 30; Ingham, *Obote*: 111–3, 119, 121–2.

[245] See Obote's Address to the Students at Makerere University," reprinted in Uganda Argus, *Thoughts of an African Leader*. Kampala: Longman, 1970: 38–9.

Obote's ideological position also made him a target for immediate removal from power by the West, especially Britain. The situation was made worse for him because the Israelis, who had been training the Uganda Airforce since 1963 and had been supplying arms to the Anya-nya rebels in southern Sudan to weaken Arab solidarity against Israel, were determined to have him deposed for stopping them from using northern Uganda to supply the rebels. Obote's change of policy towards the Israelis was not only influenced by his fear that supporting the insurgency in southern Sudan would create more political instability in Uganda but also by the desire to join the growing consensus on the continent that the OAU must stand with the Palestinians in the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. The change of policy against Israeli's interest was also dictated by the rise of Colonel Ja'far Nimery to power in Sudan in May 1969. Immediately after Nimery came to power with the support of the Communist Party, he promised to reach a negotiated settlement with the insurgents in south Sudan.[247]

During the Commonwealth Conference, Obote criticized the British policy of selling arms to the apartheid regime in South Africa and for supporting the Ian Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia. In response, the British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, declared that "some of the fiery leaders sitting around the table would not return home."[248] Heath was right: Obote was immediately toppled in a coup, led by Idi Amin on January 25, 1971. According to Colonel Baruch Bar-Lev (an Israeli), the Israelis played a pivotal role in the coup.[249] Mamdani also reported that:

> Bar-Lev, who headed the delegation and is still on good terms with Amin, said that Amin had approached him, saying that his loyal supporters were outside Kampala and that the President would be able to arrest and kill him

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[246] Hopkins, "Non-aligned", cited in Uganda Argus, *Thoughts of an African Leader*. 65.

[247] See Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 92–101; O. Otunnu, "Refugee Movements from the Sudan: An Overview Analysis," *Refuge*, 13, 8 (January, 1994): 7; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 30; Refugee Policy Group, *Older Refugee Settlements in Africa*. Washington, D.C.: RPG, 1985: 126.

[248] Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 92–101; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 31.

[249] See *New York Times*, July 17, 1976: 3.

before they could rescue him. Bar-Lev advised Amin to bring to Kampala those soldiers who were from the same tribe as Amin, and to make sure he had paratroopers, tanks and jeeps. So equipped, explained Bar-Lev, 600 men could overpower 5,000. These forces, which had been trained by the Israelis, played a key role in the defeat of Obote's army.[250]

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[250] Cited in Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 31.

CHAPTER 5

The Amin Regime and Political Violence, 1971–1979

On January 25, 1971, a group of soldiers, led by the Army Commander, Major General Amin, toppled the Obote regime. Thereafter, it presented 18 reasons to justify the coup. These included the need to protect and enhance human rights, restore democratic rule and accountability, eradicate nepotism and corruption, address the severe economic underdevelopment, bring about national unity and restore political stability. The coup was, therefore, presented as a genuine attempt by the soldiers to address the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state and the legitimation deficit that resulted from actions and policies of the Obote regime.[1]

The stage was then set for Amin to introduce himself to the nation as a simple, obedient and peace-loving soldier who was forced to come to the rescue of his country. His primary role, Amin pledged, was to return the country to a democratically elected civilian government:

> I am not a politician, but a professional soldier. I am, therefore a man of few words and I shall, as a result, be brief.... Matters now prevailing in Uganda force me to accept the task that has been given me by men of the Uganda

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[1] See Uganda Government, *The First 366 Days.* Entebbe: Government Printer, 1972: 1–2; *Achievement of the Government of Uganda during the First Year of the Second Republic.* Entebbe: Government Printer, 1972: 1; *Uganda Argus,* Kampala, January 26, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Nairobi, Tuesday, January 26, 1971: 24; *Africa Confidential*, London, 12, 3 (February 5, 1971): 1–2; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 40–42.

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> Armed Forces. I will, however, accept this task on the understanding that mine will be a purely caretaker administration pending an early return to civilian rule. Free and fair General Elections will soon be held in the country, given a stable security situation.[2]

A number of points should be noted. First, the coup-makers presented the Obote regime as the main source of the severe crisis of legitimacy, especially in Buganda. Secondly, the regime made every rhetorical effort to suggest that the coup was the least violent and vengeful in Africa. This claim was made despite the fact that the regime continued to kill many Acoli and Langi soldiers. Finally, the reactive nature of the coup did not only suggest that Amin assumed power without a policy to administer the country, but also that the political violence that brought the coup-makers to power caused a crisis of legitimacy for them because he lacked popular support in many parts of the country.[3]

Domestic Response to the Coup

Response to the coup depended on a number of related variables: past relations between the deposed regime and the respondent, perceived costs and benefits of the coup, and the respondent's perception of the nature and functions of both the neocolonial state and the incumbents. In Buganda, for example, many people perceived the coup as a legitimate act of liberation from years of alienation, humiliation, systematic discrimination and terror by the deposed regime. To Baganda monarchists, the coup was also perceived as an important step toward the restoration of Buganda's monarchy. This positive response to the coup was demonstrated by the jubilant celebrations that accompanied the coup by hundreds of thousands of Baganda throughout Buganda.[4]

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[2] Uganda Government, *The First 366 Days*: 4–5. See also, "Soldiers' Give Reasons in Kampala Broadcast," *Daily Nation*, Monday, January 25, 1971: 1; Mittleman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda*: 84; G. I. Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980: 132; *New York Times*, January 25, 1971: 3; *New York Times*, January 26, 1971: 1.

[3] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 80; Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*, Ibid: 133, 136; J. J. Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History*. London: Croom Helm, 1981: 267; *New York Times*, January 27, 1971: 1; *New York Times*, January 28, 1971: 2; *New York Times*, January 31, 1971: 2.

[4] See Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 5, 24, 31, 123–4.

Supporters of the DP embraced the coup as a legitimate and just act of political violence. Three reasons accounted for this response. First, the DP maintained that the Obote regime had lost its legitimacy when it extended its political tenure without calling for general elections, and when it effectively banned other political parties. These repressive measures, the DP insisted, had blocked non-violent means of competing for popular political support of the electorates. Secondly, hundreds of its supporters had been detained by the deposed regime. In that respect, the coup was also perceived as a legitimate attempt to restore human rights, the rule of law and democratic rule. However, by focusing exclusively on the rights of its supporters, the party endorsed violations of the rights of tens of thousands of non-supporters of the DP who were tortured and killed to secure the coup. Thirdly, Amin's pledge to hold general elections as soon as possible suggested to the DP that it would win the elections and form the next government. This optimism was based on the fact that its main political opponents, the KY and the UPC, were too disorganized to win free and fair elections.[5]

The unemployed who believed that they had failed to gain employment because of their political or ethnic or religious affiliations or lack of proper training also embraced the coup. To this group, the coup provided the opportunity to replace those who had been killed or had fled or were about to be displaced because of their support for the deposed government. Members of this group included some refugees from Rwanda, Zaire (the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Sudan. These refugees, for example, had been barred from seeking employment in the country.[6]

Another group that supported the coup was the capitalist camp. It did so because it had been threatened by the "socialist" economic policies of the deposed regime. Amin's anti-socialist rhetoric and the close ties he forged with Britain also assured this group of better days ahead. Another factor that influenced this response was the contention that the military would be able to restore order and stability, and act decisively to promote economic growth and modernization.[7]

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[5] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 59; Tiberio Okeny Atwoma, Leader of the Liberal Party (former Vice-President of DP), Kitgum, May 27, 1983. O. H. Kakole and A. A. Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Policy and the Plural Society," in L. Diamond, J. J. Linz and S. M. Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa*. London: Adamantine Press, 1988: 272–3, is an excellent discussion of the marginalization of the Catholics and DP between 1962 and 1971.

[6] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 59; Respondents No. 27, ten Rwandese refugees, interview by author, Kisoro, August 9, 1984; Respondents No. 28, five Rwandese refugees who had lived in Uganda from 1962 to 1984, interview by author, All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), Westlands, Nairobi, July 3, 1992; Respondents No. 29, ten Sudanese refugees who fled Uganda in February 1980, interview by author, Association of Christian Resource Organization Serving the Sudan (ACROSS), Nairobi, July 19, 1992.

Like its arch opponent, the socialist camp supported the coup. However, it did so for an entirely different reason: it perceived the overthrow of the Obote regime as an opportunity for the country to commit itself to a socialist agenda. This perception was aided by the anti-imperialist rhetoric that the Amin regime made from time to time. Its support for the regime was also made possible by the presence of some of the leading socialists, such as D. Nabudere and E. Rugumayo, in Amin's government.[8]

Support for the coup also came from two warring factions of the Muslim community: the Uganda Muslim Community (UMC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM). The former had developed close ties with Amin before the coup. It supported the coup because it perceived it as an opportunity to defeat its arch rival in the ensuing struggle for supremacy. The latter had developed close ties with Amin before he defected to the UMC toward the end of Obote's rule. Its support was an attempt to prevent the UMC from emerging to a position of dominance. Two important factors united the warring factions in their support for the coup: the belief that the coup was a liberation of the Muslims from eight decades of Christian hegemony; and the conviction that only a true believer, a Muslim, could rule in conformity with the teachings of the Holy Quran. Amin met this criterion of legitimacy because he was a professed Muslim.[9]

There was a diverse group that did not support the coup but joined the celebration in Buganda and issued anti-Obote statements. A segment of this group comprised those who were not sure about their personal and job security. This group joined the celebration to create the necessary impression that would guarantee them the security they desperately needed. Another segment comprised those who wanted to topple the

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[7] See "Uganda: Further left or right incline?" *Africa Confidential*, 11, 20 (October 2, 1970): 6; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism*: 30. For a similar view about the need for a government that can govern, see S. P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968: 262.

[8] See Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism*: 38–9; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: iii.

[9] See Kakole and Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Policy and the Plural Society": 273–274; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 286–7; Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 132.

regime. This segment joined the celebration with the primary purpose of infiltrating and disorganizing the regime from within. Although this diverse group did not support the coup, its presence at the celebration exaggerated the symbolic legitimacy the regime received, especially in Buganda and Busoga.[10]

The next group neither supported nor opposed the regime. Rather, it adopted an attitude of resignation or an "I do not care" attitude. This group comprised members of diverse ethnic, political and religious groups in the country. These people were not particularly concerned about who controlled the neocolonial state because they had lost faith in the agenda and capacity of the state, its institutions and the incumbents to improve their lot. Members of this group were the most marginalized in the society. A good example of this group was found in Acoli. When news about the coup reached this group in Acoli, it members simply remarked: *Jo mayam giwake ni litinogi okwano onyo giwake nia litinogi tye i mony onyo gitye bot munu iye miri kong dong gunen ki kunu. Wan manaka yam wagwogi nyo bana pa lwaki, Amin pe yelo wan. Tin dong warom*: "Let those people who had become arrogant with power because their children were educated or were in the army or in government dance to the tune. Those of us who are the wretched of the earth have not been touched by Amin's terror. At last, we are equally wretched."[11]

Among the groups that opposed the coup was the Rwenzururu movement. It did so because it perceived the coup as an outcome of power struggles by the politically relevant groups to enhance their discriminatory, oppressive and exploitative interests. From its perspective, the primary focus of the coup was, therefore, not to restore the dignity, rights and freedom of the Bakonjo and Baamba. This perception was confirmed when the regime declared war against the Rwenzururu. However, the regime abandoned the war because it had to concentrate its troops in areas that posed more immediate threat to its survival. This convinced the Rwenzururu to turn its back on the faltering neocolonial state by maintaining its own suspended state and collecting its own taxes from the area, ignoring the authority and laws of the neocolonial state, and conducting a cross-border "parallel" economy or *magendo*. In fact, some high-ranking military and civilian officials joined the Rwenzururu in the booming tax-free cross-border "parallel" economy.[12]

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[10] Respondents No. 15, two prominent DP members of parliament from Buganda, Kampala, April 17, 1985; Respondents No. 4, four prominent members of UPC-without Obote, Kampala, August 1992; Okeny Atwoma, interview by author, Kitgum, May 27, 1983.

[11] Okeny Atwoma, Kitgum, May 27, 1983; Respondents No. 30, 12 Acoli refugees, interview by author, London, July 24, 1994; Yocam Ludolo, an evangelist from Kitgum, interview by author, Oxford, December 21, 1993.

Another group that opposed the regime comprised those people who had lost many relatives during and after the coup, and expected the regime to target them as perceived supporters of Obote. The Langi were the most prominent example of this group. Although the overwhelming majority of the Langi had not benefited economically during Obote's rule, they opposed the coup because thousands of their people had been murdered by the regime. They also feared that the regime would kill them because they belonged to "Obote's" ethnic group. Some Langi also opposed the regime because they resented the fact that a Lango, Obote, had been violently removed from power. To such people, the presence of a Lango as the Head of State had provided them with pride, self-esteem and dignity.[13]

Opposition to the coup also came from a faction of the UPC, including those former DP and KY members who had crossed-over to the UPC between 1962 and 1970. Some of these people had benefited economically from the deposed regime. Their opposition to the coup, however, was based on the fear that some members of their own ethnic groups would eliminate them for "betrayal." This fear reflected the fact that the institutions of terrorism were loosely controlled by the regime.[14]

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[12] Respondents No. 22, eight former members of the Rwenzururu Movement, Kasese, December 15, 1983; Respondents No. 23, three former members of the Rwenzururu Movement, Kasese, August 18, 1984; *Africa Research Bulletin,* August 1–31, 1974: 3332C.

[13] Respondents No. 31, three politicians from Lango, African Refugee Education Programme (AREP), Nairobi, interview by author, Nairobi, July 15, 1992; Respondents No. 32, five Langi refugees, interviews by author, London, December 12, 1993. For a somewhat similar perspective on the evolution and implications of these images, see Kakole and Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society": 262–263. Similar perspectives on "state" and "stateless" societies in Africa are found in many works of history. See, for a start, B. Davidson, *Africa in History*. New York: Macmillan, 1991: xxii–3; B. Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800*. London: Macmillan, 1984: 1–2, 5–9; P.D. Curtin, *African History*. New York: The Macmillan, 1964: 3–5; A.E. Afigo, "Colonial historiography," in T. Falola, ed., *African Historiography: Essays in Homor of Jacob Ade Ajayi*. Ikeia, Nigeria: Longman, 1993: 39–47; A. Tamu and B. Swai, *Historians and Africanist: A critique*. London: Zed, 1981: x–22.

[14] Respondents No. 4, four prominent members of UPC-without Obote, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 18, four members of FEDEMU (former members of KY), Dr. Nsibirwa's Clinic, Nairobi, July 15, 1992; Respondents No. 33, three prominent members of UPC from Buganda, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 59. For a good discussion on how difficult it is to control the institu-

Response to the coup from the military reflected the existence of two broad camps in the army: pro-Amin and anti-Amin. Initially, the former comprised a few non-commissioned officers from West Nile. After the coup-makers claimed that Obote had directed the Langi and Acoli officers to eliminate every other ethnic group in the army, the group won the support of more Kakwa, Nubians, Lugbara and Madi. During this same period, the Baganda, Banyankole, Bakiga and Basoga enthusiastically joined the group. A few Acoli, Langi and Etesot soldiers also joined the coup-makers. Unlike members of other ethnic groups, members of the later three ethnic groups did so to avoid being massacred like their kinsmen. To be sure, a few of them, including Lieutenant Colonel Mwaka, Major Oboma and Lieutenant Colonel Ogwang, did so because the army offered them the only viable employment.[15]

The anti-Amin group comprised a mixed bag of soldiers who opposed the regime for conflicting reasons. For example, the majority of Acoli soldiers were initially opposed to the coup because they believed that Amin and Obote were responsible for the assassinations of Brigadier Okoya and Colonel Omoya. Immediately after the regime eliminated thousands Acoli soldiers in January 1971, their opposition was now based exclusively on the violence directed against them. The Langi, Etesot and Alur, on the other hand, opposed the regime because they were loyal to the deposed regime. Factionalism and poor leadership within this broad group, however, prevented it from coordinating its opposition to the regime. This made it easy for the regime to liquidate many of these soldiers. Those who were lucky enough to escape sought refuge in Sudan and Tanzania.[16]

The foregoing highlights at least two important points. First, the regime received support from diverse and competing segments of the society. This

tion of terror, see M. Nicholson, “Conceptual Problems of Studying State Terrorism,” in Stohl and Lopez, eds., *Government Violence and Repression*: 27; J. J. Paust, “A Definitional Focus,” in Y. Alexander and S. M. Finger, eds., *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives.* New York: The John Jay, 1977: 19–22.

[15] See *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, January 27, 1971: 1; “Uganda: Amin’s Army,” *Africa Confidential,* 15, 23 (November 22, 1974): 1–2; F. J. Ravenhill, “Military Rule in Uganda: the Politics of Survival,” *African Studies Review,* 17 (1974): 242.

[16] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 25, 1992; Respondents No. 34, two former UA and UNLA officers from Lango, interview by author, African Refugee Training and Employment Service (ARTES), Nairobi, July 18, 1992; *Daily Nation*, Monday, January 25, 1971: 1, 28; “Uganda: the Mutukula Affair,” *Africa Confidential*, 13, 5 (March 3, 1972): 7–8; S. Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1976: 212.

meant that the regime secured legitimacy in some parts of the country. Those who did not regard the regime as legitimate but were willing to work with it to protect some of their interests were also potential source of legitimacy. Secondly, by turning their backs on the neocolonial state and engaging in their "own" parallel economy, the territories controlled by the Rwenzururu highlighted the increased despotic power of the state and decreased infrastructural power of the state in some parts of the country. Such places became important sites of anarchy, lawlessness and instability.

Response to the Coup from Abroad

As soon as Obote arrived in Kenya from Singapore toward the end of January 1971, he began to plan to overthrow the Amin regime. His efforts, however, were frustrated by President Kenyatta's opposition to the plan. Thereafter, he relocated to Tanzania, where he sought military and political support to topple Amin. Between January 27, 1971, and February 16, 1971, he gave a series of press interviews in which he held the Israelis and the British responsible for destroying the "socialist" project in Uganda. He also held them responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of innocent Ugandans during and after the coup. He then declared that a military regime, such as the one in Uganda, was not only illegitimate but incapable of formulating viable policies that could address the severe crisis of underdevelopment.[17]

Obote then began to mobilize some Ugandan refugees in Tanzania and Sudan to go back and topple Amin. This led to the first wave of cross-border invasions by refugee warriors from Sudan and Tanzania. In an attempt to confirm to the international community that the government had a severe crisis of legitimacy, Obote appealed to UPC supporters to mobilize and destabilize the regime. The appeal was also intended to provoke more state terror that would discredit the regime and encourage a popular uprising in the country. However, the only objective Obote's strategy achieved was to provoke more state terror. It failed to topple the regime and to persuade the masses to engage in any popular resistance against the regime.[18]

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[17] See *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, January 27, 1971: 1, 28; *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, February 16, 1971: 11.

[18] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 25, 1992; Y. Museveni, *Selected Articles on the Uganda Resistance War*. Second Edition. Kampala: NRM Publication, 1986: 4–5.

Obote then embarked on a diplomatic offensive to delegitimize the regime. He began by appealing to member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) not to recognize Amin's government. Thereafter, he dispatched a high-powered team, led by his former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sam Odaka, to represent Uganda at the 16th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers' Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. President Amin, on the other hand, sent a team led by an arch enemy of Odaka and Uganda's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wanume Kibedi, to represent the government. The presence of two rival delegations from "Uganda" caused a lot of confusion at the conference. In the end, the Council decided to postpone the conference from March to June 1971. This was a major diplomatic victory for Obote because the decision challenged the legitimacy of the Amin regime. Humiliated and delegitimated at the OAU conference, the government retaliated by detaining and killing more perceived supporters of Obote at home. The humiliation also encouraged the government to embark on a more determined quest for international legitimacy.[19]

The response of the international community to the coup ranged from approval to outright denunciation. The first country to provide the regime with international legitimacy was Britain. This came on February 6, 1971, when the Under-Secretary of Foreign Office, Anthony Kershaw, announced the formal recognition of the regime in the House of Commons.[20] Amin returned the gesture by assuring Britain and Israel of Uganda's friendship and cooperation. He then attacked those African leaders who were quite opposed to Britain's support of the white minority rule in southern Africa:

> Some African leaders such as Obote were unable to solve problems in their own countries and went on to talk about South Africa and Rhodesia. I disagree with people like Obote.... Everybody is talking about South Africa but we have another South Africa in South Sudan where Catholics and Protestants are not allowed to go to church. When worshipers went to church in the Sudan, they were machine gunned and their houses burnt. This must be solved first before we talk of arms to South Africa.[21]

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[19] See *Daily Nation,* Monday, March 1, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, March 2, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation,* Wednesday, March 3, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, February 11, 1971: 1. See also, "The Preamble of the Charter of the OAU" reproduced in A. Ajala, *Pan-Africanism*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1974: 65.

[20] *New York Times*, February 6, 1971:4; *Daily Nation,* Sunday, February 6, 1971: 1.

[21] See *Uganda Argus,* February 24, 1971, cited in Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*. 52–3.

By challenging the critical role that the OAU continued to play in the liberation of southern Africa, Amin reinforced his ties with Britain.[22] The statement against Sudan was intended to achieve a number of objectives: to challenge the credibility of the Afro-Arab solidarity against Israel; to discredit the regime of Nimery for providing sanctuary and military support to Ugandan refugee warriors at Owinykibul in southern Sudan; to consolidate the support of southern Sudanese who were in the Uganda army; to assure Israel that it was free to use northern Uganda to rearm and finance the Anya-Nya insurgents in southern Sudan[23]; and to challenge the opponents of the regime who claimed that Christians were being persecuted by the Moslem-dominated regime in Uganda.[24]

Amin extended another gesture of friendship to Britain by allowing it to directly influence the composition of his cabinet. This gesture paved the way for him to meet with the Queen and officials of the British government in July 1971. The meetings were presented by the regime and the western media as conferring more international legitimacy upon Amin. *The Daily Telegraph* went further and "commended Amin to the British public and Government" by claiming that Amin:

> provides a welcome contrast to those African leaders… who bring African rule into discredit in their own countries… Dr. Obote who violated Uganda's Independence Constitution, and was justifiably ousted by Gen. Amin, was in that category… Amin, always a staunch friend of Britain, has been quick to express this in his country's policy. His request now for the purchase of equipment for the re-building of Uganda's defences deserves the most sympathetic consideration from every point of view.[25]

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[22] For the position of the OAU on the liberation of Southern Africa, see Z. Cervenka, *The Unfinished Quest for Unity: Africa and the OAU*. New York: Africana, 1977: 110–155; C. Legum, "The Role of the Organization of African Unity in Dealing with Violent Conflict," in Legum, et. al., *Africa in the 1980s: A Continent in Crisis*. New York: McGraw Book, 1980: 37–43. Ajala, *Pan Africanism*: 72, noted the position that the OAU took against the role of Great Britain in assisting the apartheid regime in South Africa and Namibia.

[23] See O. Otunnu, "Refugee Movements from the Sudan," *Refuge*, 13, 8 (January 1994): 3–14; "Sudan: the South and Uganda," *Africa Confidential*, 13, 8 (April 21, 1972): 1–2.

[24] See, for example, *New York Times*, December 3, 1972: 2; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1973: 2889AB.

[25] *The Daily Telegraph,* July 12, 1971, cited in Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 109.

Britain responded favorably to Amin's policy and request: it offered weapons amounting to 1.5 million pounds, agreed to set up a military school in Uganda, and to provide a loan of 10 million pounds.[26]

Amin's gesture toward Israel also paid off: Israel received and recognized him as the legitimate ruler of Uganda, agreed to give him 600 command cars, and to provide more aid in training the military. The quest for international legitimacy then took him to France, where he met with President Pompidou and secured pledges for arms. He then went to the Vatican, where he met with the Pope Paul V. During this period, Ghana, Malawi, Kenya and the Soviet Union also formally recognized the regime. These diplomatic victories were important in providing legitimacy to the regime both at home and abroad.[27]

Two important points should be highlighted. First, the prolonged international isolation of the regime increased both the domestic and international crisis of legitimacy of the government. This crisis offered the regime challengers the opportunity to escalate and justify anti-regime violence on the grounds that the regime had a profound legitimation deficit. Confronted with this challenge, the government intensified the war against its perceived challengers by eliminating many of them. This measure, however, made the government more unpopular and insecure.[28]

Secondly, Amin's criticism of the OAU positions with regard to the Afro-Arab solidarity and the liberation struggles in southern Africa further isolated the regime in Africa and in the Arab world. This prompted the regime to change its position by denouncing colonialism in southern Africa and Zionism in Palestine.[29] To show that it was serious about its new position, it declared that the United Nations (UN) lacked legitimacy in Africa because it had not done enough to end colonialism in southern Africa and had failed to end the occupation of Palestine and Arab lands by the Zionists. This new policy placed the regime in a very risky position: it reduced the severe crisis of legitimacy the regime suffered in Africa and the Arab world without providing it with legitimacy. The situation was made even worse for the regime because its new position undermined the legitimacy it had procured from

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[26] Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 109–110.

[27] Ibid: 110; *Daily Nation,* Sunday, February 6, 1971: 1; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism*: 61–63; *New York Times*, February 8, 1971: 8; *New York Times*, September 19, 1971: 7.

[28] Respondents No. 35, four NRA officers from Arua (former UA officers), interview by author, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 36, two former UA officers from Ajumani, interview by author, Kibera, Nairobi, July 4, 1992.

[29] See "Dialogue: Amin's angle," *Africa Confidential,* 12, 21 (October 15, 1971): 6–7.

Britain and Israel. In fact, the new position made the regime quite nervous about what Britain and Israel might do to punish it for betrayal. The result was that the regime began to search for new allies.[30]

The search for new allies in Africa was not easy because many African countries, including Tanzania, Somalia, Zambia, Sudan, Guinea and Congo-Brazzaville, refused to recognize the regime.[31] For instance, three days after the coup, President Julius Nyerere issued the following statement to the press:

> The Government and people of Tanzania unequivocally condemns the purported seizure of power by Maj. Gen. Idi Amin in Uganda. This is an act of treason to the whole cause of African progress and African Freedom.... It would, if consolidated, weaken the national independence of Uganda with inevitable effects upon the strength of the whole region, at a time when Africa's need for unity in opposition to the supporters of racialism and colonialism is clear to the meanest intelligence.... The enemies of Africa are now rejoicing.... The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania continues to regard President Milton Obote as the President of Uganda. We do not recognise the authority of those who have killed their fellow citizens in an attempt to overthrow the established Government of a sister republic. This decision has been made by the Government of Tanzania in the conviction that the vast majority of the people of Uganda remain loyal to the constitution of Uganda and to President Obote…[32]

Nyerere further declared that: "We can't change our view just because the British have said that Amin is not a bad man. We say Amin is a traitor and we will not recognize him."[33] By insisting that Obote was still the legitimate President of Uganda, Tanzania, like Zambia, Congo Brazzavile and Somalia offered a serious challenge to the legitimacy of the Amin regime. Tanzania's challenge would not be limited to diplomatic threats and denunciations. Soon, it would include providing sanctuary, and political and military support to anti-Amin forces.[34]

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[30] See Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism*: 38; Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History:* 273.

[31] See Mitteman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda:* 201; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, February 11, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Friday, March 5, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, February 2, 197: 1.

[32] The full text of the official statement is quoted in the *Daily Nation*, Friday, January 29, 1971: 1, 4. See also, "TANU Guidelines on Guarding, Consolidating and Advancing the Revolution of Tanzania, and of Africa," reprinted in D.C. Cohen and J. Daniel, eds., *Political Economy of Africa*. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1982: 244–250. See also, Cohen and Daniel, eds., *Political Economy*: 244, 245, 246.

[33] See *Daily Nation*, Monday, February 22, 1971: 1.

Tanzania's support of anti-Amin activities was partly based on Nyerere and Obote's professed ideological commitment to socialism, Pan-Africanism and the liberation of Africa. The *TANU Guidelines on Guarding, Consolidating and Advancing the Revolution of Tanzania, and of Africa* provided some light on the cordial relationship that had developed between Obote and Nyerere's "revolutionary" parties:

> [M]any legitimate African governments have been forcefully toppled and new governments established. Recently, sudden changes have been brought about by force in Uganda, where puppet Amin and a group of fellow soldiers have rebelled against the government of the revolutionary UPC led by President Obote. The majority of the armed forces do not accept the rebellion and many of them, particularly senior officers, have been killed by the puppets. It is obvious that those who hail the rebellion are those who opposed the UPC policy of bringing about unity and socialism and eradicating tribalism [*sic*] and exploitation.... The lesson we draw from Uganda is one of treachery and counter-revolution. It shows that, instead of invading the country to overthrow the revolutionary government, imperialism prefers to use local puppets to overthrow the legitimate government and replace it with a government of 'foremen' or puppets. Such a government will allow the imperialists to exploit national wealth in partnership with local bourgeoisie.... The people must learn from events in Uganda and those in Guinea that, although imperialism is still strong, its ability to topple a revolutionary government greatly depends on the possibility of getting domestic counter-revolutionary puppets to help in thwarting the revolution.[35]

The ties between Nyerere and Obote were further strengthened by the Mulungushi Club, which brought together Obote, Nyerere, Kaunda (Zambia) and Mobutu (Zaire). The primary objectives of the club were to promote cordial relations among the member states and the ruling political parties, and facilitate the liberation of southern Africa.[36]

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[34] See M. Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee: Uganda Asians Come to Britain*. London: Frances Printer, 1973: 54.

[35] "TANU Guidelines on Guarding, Consolidating and Advancing the Revolution of Tanzania, and of Africa": 244–245.

[36] See Ibid; Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda:* 202; Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee:* 54–55.

THE QUEST FOR LEGITIMACY AT HOME AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE REGIME

During this period, the regime attempted to address the severe crisis of legitimacy at home by employing simultaneous and complementary strategies of violence and non-violence. The first major non-violent strategy was the release of some 55 political detainees from Luzira Maximum Security Prison. This took place on January 28, 1971. The detainees included Benedicto Kiwanuka (former Prime Minister), Princess Nalinya Mpalagoma (sister of the late President and Kabaka), Grace Ibingira (ex-Minister), Mathias Ngobi (ex-Minister), Balaki Kirya (ex-Minister), George Magezi (ex-Minister), Emmanuel Lumu (ex-Minister), Cuthbert Obwangor (ex-Minister), Sir Wilberforce Nadiope (former Vice-President) and Brigadier Opolot (former Commander of the Army). These people were released at a colorfully staged public ceremony at Kololo Independence Ground in the presence of tens of thousands of jubilant Ugndans.[37] In February 1971, some 1509 political detainees were released. The overwhelming majority were Baganda monarchists.[38]

Immediately after they were released, the ex-detainees and other prominent Ugandans sent many messages of support to Amin. These messages were read for months on the government-controlled media: Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (Radio Uganda) and Uganda Television. Two such messages highlight the general view expressed by the ex-detainees. For example, the first African Anglican Bishop in East Africa, the Rt. Rev. K. Balya, sent a message to Amin claiming that Ugandans were quite happy with the regime because "we know that your government will be run on God-fearing principles." He then attacked Obote for having been "irreligious" and for having terrorized and victimized the Baganda since 1966. He also claimed that after he had failed to persuade Obote to end state terror against the Baganda, he prayed "and asked God to raise a redeemer..... God has done this through Gen. Amin and the men and officers of the Uganda Armed Forces."[39] Among other things, the message from the Bishop suggested that the Amin regime had a divine legitimacy. The second example was a message from George Magezi to Amin, which claimed that the Obote regime was "a reign of terror and treachery..... This country has gone through a period of terror and treachery under Obote's diabolical rule. The whole country, including supporters of Obote's regime, is breathing the air of freedom now."[40] These messages, like the rest, suggested that the regime secured legitimacy in some parts of the country. The messages also attempted to undermine anti-regime political activities in the country.

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[37] C. Obwangor had been in detention since he criticized Obote's proposed 1967 constitution. See *Daily Nation*, Friday, January 29, 1971: 1; *New York Times*, January 28, 1971: 2.

[38] See Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 102.

[39] See *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, March 10, 1971: 28. See also, *Daily Nation*, Friday, March 5, 1971: 40.

The messages were supplemented by a number of huge pro-regime public demonstrations in Kampala. One such demonstration was organized by the ex-detainees in early March 1971. The climax of this event was marked by a statement read on behalf of the ex-detainees by the former Vice-President, Sir Wilberforce Nadiope. In the statement, the ex-detainees claimed that "Dr. Obote had within a period of only nine years detained without trial more than 40,000 persons.... The colonial administration on the other hand had detained only 35 people in 70 years of colonial rule."[41] This statement was quite inaccurate because the colonial regime was more violent than the Obote regime. For example in June 1907, the colonial regime reported that it disabled at least 2000, and killed an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 Langi.[42] Similarly, during the 1949 political violence in Buganda, the colonial government reported that it had detained some 1724 Baganda.[43] Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that the Obote regime had detained more than 2000 in the most populous and turbulent region of Baganda in nearly "nine years" of its rule.[44] The fact that this statement was popularly embraced suggests that people who are in conflict produce and accept whatever "evidence" vindicates their position. The popularity of the statement also reflected the fact that Ugandans "expected" the colonial regime, not the post-colonial regime, to violate their rights. The failure of the Obote regime to meet that most basic expectation of protecting the civil and political rights of Ugandans, therefore, exaggerated its violence in the eyes of those who suffered from such violence. In any event, the public demonstrations and statements won more political support for Amin.

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[40] *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, February 16, 1971: 24.

[41] See *Daily Nation*, Monday, March 8, 1971: 24.

[42] See Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango*: 125.

[43] See Uganda Protectorate, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda during April, 1949*: 43–65.

[44] See Uganda Government, *The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 113–4. Even if the 2,013 Bakonjo and Baamba who were detained in western Uganda in 1964 are added to those detained in Buganda, the total would be less than 5,000. Information about those detained in western Uganda is contained in *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1964: 41C. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1964: 94C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1964: 133B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1964: 151A.

Another non-violent strategy was the recruitment of some of the most prominent politicians, civil servants and scholars into government. These people included: W. Kibedi, E. Rugumayo, D. Nabudere, W. Lutara, B. Kiwanuka, G. Ibingira, A. Mayanja, F. Onama, E.W. Oryema, E.B. Wakhenya, A.K. Kironde, Y. Engur, J.M.W. Zikusoke, Dr. J.H. Gesa, J.M. Byagagire, W. Naburi, V.A. Ovonji, P.J. Mugerwa, Professor W.B. Banage and F.L. Okware.[45] Thus, the Minister of Health, Dr. Gesa, remarked that, although "the present government is called a military Government, in reality it is a professional Government."[46] These people represented every political party, religious denomination and ethnic group in the country. The appointment of such a diverse and prominent group of people was intended to address the severe crisis of legitimacy at home by creating the appearance that the regime was willing to depend on some of the best minds to run the country. It was also intended to address the severe crisis of legitimacy abroad because the government included many competent civilians.[47]

Immediately after Amin appointed the "professionals," he sent them on a nation-wide tour to acquire legitimacy and support for the regime. The strategy they employed to win legitimacy for the regime was to demonize Obote and the Langi, and then ask the people to support Amin. For example, Felix Onama, a former ally of Obote, told the nation that Obote and the Langi had planned to imprison and kill hundreds of thousands of members of other ethnic groups in the country. This plan, he claimed, was intended to keep Obote and the Langi in power against the popular wishes of the overwhelming majority of Ugandans. He then appealed to the country to support Amin for saving the country from dictatorship and the impending genocide.[48] Similarly, the Minister of Education,

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[45] A comprehensive list of Amin's cabinet from 1971 to 1979 is provided Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History*: 280–281.

[46] *Uganda Argus*, Kampala, February 25, 1971: 1.

[47] See *Uganda Argus*, February 3, 1971: 1–2; Jorgensen, *Uganda*: *A Modern History*: 280–283; Ravenhill, "Military Rule in Uganda," 231–233; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 10; *New York Times*, February 2, 1971: 7; *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, February 3, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation* , Thursday, February 4, 1971:1.

[48] See *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, February 16, 1971: 24.

Abu Mayanja, blamed Obote for virtually every problem that the country faced. He then appealed to his audience in a huge public rally in Jinja to support Amin.[49] Likewise, the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Wilson Lutara, told his kinsmen, the Acoli, in Padibe that:

> If Major-General Amin Dada and his gallant soldiers had not intervened in time, we would have eight documents corresponding to eight years of hardship, oppression, dictatorship, hypocrisy, tribalism, nepotism, poverty and injustice—the eight vices which Obote concentrated on.... Having ruined the economy of the country and improvised the population, Obote realised that he was no longer popular, so he terrorized members of parliament and rendered what used to be 'the Honourable House' a useless organ of the state.[50]

He also told his attentive audience that Obote had planned to kill tens of thousands of Acoli. According to him, this plan was outlined in the *Lango Master Plan*. Although it was unclear who had authored this document, some Acoli believed the propaganda because it confirmed the rumors that followed the murders of Brigadier Okoya and Colonel Omoya. It also confirmed the clashes which took place in 1967 and 1968 between the Acoli and Lango District Councils and between Acoli District and the Central Government.[51] While the propaganda campaign did not win over Acoli because they were still mourning thousands of their sons who had been killed by the Amin regime, it widened the gulf between the Acoli and Langi.[52] Generally, the campaign won the regime enormous political support in the country.[53]

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[49] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 71.

[50] Quoted in *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, February 16, 1971: 24.

[51] The 1967 and 1968 clashes between the Acoli District Council and the Lango District Council, and between the Acoli District Council and the Central government are highlighted in Gertzel, "The Politics of Uneven Development": 19.

[52] The regime talked about the Lango Development Plan throughout its tenure. For example, *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2722AB. See also, Agwa, "Did the UPC, Dr. Obote and the Langi kill the Okoyas and Omoya?": 2–3.

[53] See *Daily Nation*, Monday, February 15, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, 28, 1971: 24; *Daily Nation*, Monday, February 22, 1971: 1; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*.: 1; *New York Times*, March 25, 1971: 14; Respondents No. 37, three prominent members of the NRM from Ankole, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 38, three Acoli and six Baganda refugees, interview by author, London, August 18, 1994.

The quest for legitimacy also led to the creation of many commissions of inquiry. The commissions were authorized by the Commission of Inquiry Decree of March 13, 1971. The commissions—which were to investigate corruption and nepotism in the National Trading Corporation, Coffee Marketing Board, government departments, State corporations and the General Service Unit—became a public forum to demonize Obote and his supporters, while vindicating Amin from past allegations of corruption and nepotism. While the commissions were still carrying out their investigations, the government established organizations to fight corruption and nepotism. Although these actions were only symbolic, they earned much credibility and political support in the country because people believed that the regime was determined to transform the state and its politics. The actions also suggested to international financial institutions that the government was serious about eradicating corruption, nepotism and wastage of public funds. The result was that the government won the support of those institutions.[54]

Another commission of inquiry was established specifically to investigate the assassinations of Brigadier Okoya and his wife, Anna. The commission was headed by a Uganda High Court Judge. The undeclared political mandate of the commission was to clear Amin of any involvement in the assassinations.[55] In March 1971, President Amin appeared before the Commission and answered questions on the subject. In April 1972, the Commission concluded its work and cleared both the President and the army of involvement in the assassinations.[56] Although the investigation was a political ploy, it convinced many Ugandans that Amin was genuinely interested in finding and punishing the culprits. More importantly, the presence of President Amin before the commission suggested to the masses that he was a "common man"—a person who was as humble and law abiding as many ordinary Ugandans. This strategy won more support and cooperation for the government.[57]

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[54] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 14.

[55] See *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, February 23, 1971: 24; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 6.

[56] See Kiwanuka, Amin *and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 85–86.

[57] Respondents No. 39, seven secondary school teachers, interview by author, Gulu, July 3, 1983; Respondents No. 40, two high school teachers from Mwiri Busoga College, interview by author, Mwiri, September 11, 1985; Respondents No. 41, two professors at Makerere University, conversation with author, Kampala, August 1992.

The quest for legitimacy by non-violent means was extended to organizations with the largest and most loyal followings in the country and abroad: religious organizations. The first strategy that was employed was to calm the growing fear among the Christians that the government would alienate and marginalize them, and turn the country into an Islamic state. This was done by inviting the leaders of all the institutionalized religions in the country: Catholic, Anglican, Moslem and Hindu, to meet with the President at the Presidential Lodge in Kololo. The meeting was broadcast live on Uganda Television and Radio Uganda. During the meeting, Amin assured the religious leaders that: "Our new Republic will be guided by a firm belief in the equality and brotherhood of man [*sic*] and in peace and goodwill to all.... For that reason I wish to state that our new Republic will allow total religious freedom to everyone, without fear or favour."[58] In turn, the men in robes, turbans and headgears assured Amin of their unwavering loyalty and support.[59]

These religious organizations, like every other institution in the country, were facing a severe crisis of legitimacy. For example, between 1964 and 1971, the two Buganda dioceses of the Church of Uganda threatened to secede from the Anglican Church because "Buganda Christians had been discriminated against, the Luganda prayer books no longer contained references to the monarchy, and that Baganda bishops were not to be considered in the choice of Brown's [the outgoing Archbishop] successor." However, "the governing bureaucracy intervened … by giving political and material assistance to the newly elected Archbishop (Eric Sabiti) to help him establish power over the two Buganda dioceses."[60]

The intervention by the Obote regime in the ensuing crisis in the Anglican church, during the period of increased political violence between the Buganda government and the Uganda government, forced the dissenting Baganda church leaders to go underground and challenge the legitimacy of both the official church establishment and the regime. This crisis escalated after the coup. For example, some Baganda Protestants demanded that the leadership of the church resign and follow its protector: Obote. This crisis was demonstrated publicly when Archbishop Eric Sabiti went to the Namirembe Cathedral to lead a thanksgiving service for the military coup. Upon his arrival, the Baganda church congregation denounced him as a traitor and promptly turned him away from the Cathedral.[61]

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[58] *Daily Nation,* Monday, February 1, 1971: 1.

[59] Ibid.

[60] See Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 286.

Islam faced a similar crisis of legitimacy. As in the case of the Protestants, the Obote regime had also played an important role in fomenting and sustaining the crisis of legitimacy in the Muslim community:

> At independence, the prominent Muslim organization in the country was the Uganda Muslim Community (UMC), led by Prince Badru Kakungulu, an uncle of the kabaka.... After the collapse of the KY-UPC alliance in 1965, the governing bureaucracy encouraged the formation of a rival organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM), led by a cabinet minister (Akena Nekyon), a member of parliament (A. Balinda) and the Major-General of the army (Idi Amin). Relations between the UMC and NAAM were so strained that physical clashes were common, including one confrontation with the police that cost two lives. By 1968, the UPC and Obote were openly supporting the NAAM and declaring that those failing to do so were "disloyal to the state".... Significantly, however, just prior to the coup General Amin stopped attending NAAM meetings and started attending UMC meetings, speaking publicly against the intrusion of politics in religion.[62]

Against this background, the government assigned itself the role of a conflict manager and convened a conference of religious leaders at Kabale on May 20, 1971.[63] President Amin opened the conference by denouncing the Obote regime for having encouraged religious factionalism, and for having failed to formulate a fair and just policy to guide religious activities in the country. He then issued "Ten Commandments" to guide religious activities in the country:

> (1) Everyone has the right to practice the religion of his [*sic*] choice. (2) The Government encourages everyone to participate actively and wholeheartedly in the affairs of the religion of his choice. (3) The Government will not permit anyone to interfere with the right of another person to practice the religion of his choice. (4) It will not permit anyone to interfere with the smooth running of the affairs of any religious organization. (5) It will not, however, permit the practice of any religion unduly to interfere with the

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[61] See *Daily Nation*, Monday, February 1, 1971: 24.

[62] Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*: 286–7. See also, Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 35.

[63] See Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 15.

> smooth running of public affairs. (6) The Government is of the firm view that matters of a purely religious nature must remain the sole responsibility of religious organizations. (7) It believes that the primary duty of any religious leader is to provide spiritual and moral inspiration to the followers of that particular religion. (8) One of the things the Government will do will be to actively encourage the democratization of religious organizations, within the framework of the appropriate ethics and regulations governing them. (9) The Government is committed to protecting the rights and freedom of the individual. It will not, therefore, remain idle when it becomes aware of any state of affairs whereby the constitutional rights and freedoms of individuals are threatened, even by the activities of any religious denomination or any sect or group of the denomination. (10) The Government will ensure that …religious organizations are organized and run in such a manner as not to reflect any discrimination whatsoever on the grounds of tribe [*sic*] or religion or other sectional interest. [64]

Thereafter, he announced the appointment of a former Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Christopher Ntende, to head the new Department of Religious Affairs. To demonstrate that he was serious about resolving religious conflicts in the country, Amin assured the religious leaders and the nation that the new department would fall directly under his office. The conference, which was carried live on Uganda Radio and Uganda Television, concluded with hours of prayers to God to provide Amin with good health so that he could continue to lead the country. Many months after the conference, the religious leaders were still praying for and praising Amin's leadership.[65] This strategy provided the government with the opportunity to infiltrate, manipulate and control activities of religious organizations, while enjoying the overwhelming support and loyalty of the organizations.[66]

During this period, the regime attempted to win more political support from Buganda by returning the remains of the late President and Kabaka, Sir E. Mutesa II, to Uganda. To begin with, on the January 27, 1971, President Amin announced that the remains of Mutesa would be returned for a national burial.[67] As one of the leading Buganda nationalist historians, S.M.S. Kiwanuka, observed: "By promising the return of the body of Sir Edward Mutesa, Amin cemented the love of the Baganda which he had already captured by the overthrow of Obote."[68] To be sure, a faction of the England-based Baganda monarchists demanded that the monarchy should be restored before the remains of Mutesa could be returned to Buganda for burial.[69] This demand caused much confusion because it suggested that the monarchists in Buganda, Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro expected the restoration of their kingdoms in the very near future. To contain this confusion, Amin invited the former royal families and former District heads to Entebbe to discuss their status in the new regime. At the meeting, he told the delegates that Uganda would, for the moment, remain a republic. Since he had shown respect to the former royal families and had rehabilitated them in the eyes of their supporters, the England-based Buganda monarchists deferred their demand. To be sure, this faction was also under enormous pressure from other Baganda not to stop the remains of President Mutesa from being brought back to the land of his ancestors.[70]

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[64] See *Daily Nation*, Thursday, May 20, 1971: 28.

[65] See *Daily Nation*, Thursday, March 25, 1971: 28; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda*: 40.

[66] For a slightly different interpretation of Amin's intentions in "mediating" the conflicts, see Kakole and Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Polity and Plural Society": 275.

[67] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 66.

By March 1971, Amin had set up a six-man Ministerial Committee, led by the former Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda, Abu Mayanja. The Committee was assigned the task of making preparations for the return of Mutesa's remains. To further demonstrate to the Baganda the importance he attached to the occasion, he appointed Colonel Nyangweso to head another powerful committee whose task was to coordinate every activity related to the occasion. As the historic day drew near, tens of thousands of Baganda volunteered to prepare the burial ground of Baganda's Kings at Kisubi. On March 31, 1971, the remains of Mutesa arrived at Entebbe Airport, accompanied by Prince Mutebi (Mutesa's son), Captain Owen (Mutebi's guardian) and Lord Boyd (former Colonial Governor). The body was received at Entebbe with outstanding military pomp and pageantry. The military pomp was punctuated by a deafening roar of Baganda's royal drums.[71] The body was then driven to Kololo Independence Ground, where it was formally received by President Amin and hundreds of thousands of wailing mourners. Thereafter, it was taken to Namirembe Cathedral via the National Assembly. During the funeral service, the Baganda watched President Amin humble himself and murmur a prayer for the soul of the departed King and President. This extraordinary political ritual, which was witnessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Arthur Michael Ramsey and hundreds of foreign dignitaries, ended at the Kisubi Royal Tombs.[72]

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[68] Ibid: 55.

[69] *New York Times*, September 2, 1971: 11.

[70] Those who attended the meeting included: J. Wasukulu (the Senkulu of Bukedi), Banumgoma (the Uminga of Bugisu), P. Adonga (Laloyo of Acoli), A.A. Azama (the Rutakirwa of Kigezi), the Jolosiga of West Nile, Princes George Mawanda and Simbwa (brothers of Sir Edward Mutesa), Prince Kakungulu (Mutesa's uncle), Princess Ndagire (Mutesa's sister), Lady Damali (Mutesa's widow), Sir Tito Owinyi (former Mukama of Bunyoro), Dr. Majugo (Bunyoro), Prince Rukidi (Bunyoro), Mrs. Magezi (Bunyoro), Prince Kaboyo (Toro), Prince Steven Karamagi (Toro), Dr. Nyabongo (Toro), Mugonya (Toro), Sir Charles Gashonga (Ankole), Prince Barigye (Ankole), Prince Patrick Ruhinda (Ankole), Princesses Rosemary (Ankole) and Winifred Nyabweza (Ankole). See, Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 64.

A number of points should be noted about the politics of legitimation via the funeral. First, at every stage of the preparation for the return of the Kabaka's remains, Amin demonstrated the highest level of respect for Buganda's traditions. This earned him more respect and cooperation from Buganda.[73] Secondly, the presence of hundreds of foreign dignitaries during the burial provided the regime with symbolic international recognition and acceptance. These were reinforced by the overwhelming popularity Amin enjoyed in Buganda during the burial. To many foreign dignitaries, the popularity was an indication of Amin's popular legitimacy in the country.[74] Thirdly, as soon as preparations for the funeral began, some Baganda killed, raped and terrorized some Acoli and Langi in Buganda. This wave of political violence uprooted some 25,000 Acoli and Langi from Buganda. The violence was intended to avenge the destruction of Buganda's traditional institutions, the murder and rape of some Baganda during the 1966 crisis and the death of Kabaka Mutesa in exile.[75] During this crisis, the regime, which had eliminated thousands of Acoli and Langi soldiers, assumed the role of a conflict manager and provided some protection to the Acoli and Langi in Buganda. These incidents suggested to some Acoli and Langi that the Baganda were worse than Amin.[76]

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[71] Ibid: 55; *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, March 31, 1971: 1.

[72] See *Daily Nation*, Monday, March 15, 1971: 1, 24; *New York Times*, April 16, 1971: 36; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 67.

[73] For a similar view, see Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 67.

[74] Ibid.

[75] See *Daily Nation*, Thursday, April 1, 1971: 1.

[76] Respondents No. 42, seven Acoli who fled to Kenya during the incident, interview by author, Gulu, July 23, 1983; Respondents No. 43, five Langi who fled to Lango during the incident, interview by author, Lira, August 2, 1983; Respondents No. 44, eight Acoli and

While the funeral went on as planned, it also created a severe crisis of legitimacy in Buganda's royal family. To begin with, before Kabaka Sir Daudi Chua died, he picked his son Prince George Mawanda to become the next Kabaka. The Buganda establishment concurred with the choice. However, the established church in matters of succession in Buganda, the Anglican Church, declared that Mawanda did not have one of the key criteria of legitimacy: his mother was not the church-wed wife of Kabaka Chua. Consequently, the church picked Prince Edward Mutesa who met that key criteria of legitimacy. By accepting the position of the church, Buganda agreed that only a prince whose mother was the church-wed wife of the Kabaka qualified to contest for the throne. Sir Edward Mutesa, for his part, was married to Damalie, who gave birth to Prince Katabazi. Mutesa also had an affair with Damalie's younger sister, Sarah. The latter gave birth to Prince Ronald Mutebi. According to this key criterion of legitimacy, Prince Katabazi was the legitimate heir to Buganda's throne. However, during the burial of Mutesa, the Anglican Church changed this criterion, and backed Prince Ronald Mutebi to succeed his father, if and when the monarchy was restored. This development angered Lady Damalie and Prince Katabazi so much that the former declared that the Anglican Church had lost its credibility and legitimacy in matters concerning Buganda's throne. Some supporters of Prince Katabazi also claimed that Mutebi was the son of a close friend of Mutesa from Acholi, Daudi Ocieng. In any event, on April 10, 1971, Lady Damalie publicly crossed over to the anti-monarchy church in Buganda: the Catholic Church. This development highlighted the severity of the crisis of legitimacy in Buganda's royal family.[77]

This crisis provided Amin with the opportunity to effectively manipulate and control the factions and undermine the demand for the restoration of Buganda's monarchy, a demand further weakened by the rivalry between two ideological camps in Buganda: Baganda monarchists and Baganda republicans. With the support of the anti-monarchist forces in Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro, Amin declared that the entire country was overwhelmingly opposed to the idea of restoring monarchies. Thereafter, he advised Prince Ronald Mutebi not to be confused by a handful of Baganda monarchists who wanted him to reclaim his father's throne. As

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Langi who hid in Kampala during the incident, interview by author, London, December 2, 1992.

[77] See Kiwanuka, *Amin and the tragedy of Uganda*: 67–9.

a gesture of friendship, he advised Mutebi to join the army or return to England for studies. If he chose to return to England, Amin promised Mutebi, the government would provide whatever assistance was required to help him complete his studies. Mutebi chose to return to England; and as promised, Amin provided the required financial assistance.[78]

During this period, the regime also attempted to address the crisis of legitimacy through violence. The primary targets were the Acoli and Langi in the armed forces. For example, on December 28, 1971, it transferred 638 soldiers from Luzira maximum prison to Mutukula military barracks. Out of this total, at least 568 (89 %) were Acoli and Langi. Almost all the Acoli and Langi in this group were subsequently murdered.[79] The continued elimination of the Acoli and Langi was influenced largely by the perception that the two ethnic groups were determined to topple the government. This perception was enhanced by the numerous rumors about impending armed invasions by Acoli and Langi refugee warriors. In this instance, the elimination of members of the two ethnic groups was a direct response to the perceived threat they presented to the regime. The elimination was also intended to make the costs of insurgency too high for the two groups.[80]

However, the demonstration effects of regime terror did not deter refugee warriors from engaging in insurgency activities. For example, in early 1972, the refugee warriors attacked the border towns of Mutukula and Mbarara. This group, which crossed into the country from Tanzania, was expected to be joined by a group of highly specialized refugee commandos from Tanzania. The latter was supposed to carry out surgical attacks on Entebbe Airport and the State House in Entebbe. However, the commandos failed to join the invasion because their plane developed technical problems in Tanzania. The invasions of Mutukula and Mbarara, however, were hastily and poorly executed. The result was that many insurgents were killed by the Simba Batallion. Those who were captured, together with other perceived opponents of the regime, were put to death by firing squads in their home districts. These public executions, like those carried out by the British colonial authorities, were intended to deter people from challenging the legitimacy of the government.[81]

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[78] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1974: 3332C–3333A.

[79] The names of the 638 soldiers are reproduced in Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: appendix 2: iv. See also, "Uganda: the Mutukula Affair," *Africa Confidential*, 13, 5 (March 3, 1972): 7–8.

[80] See Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 134–5; *Daily N*ation, Friday, February 12, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation,* Thursday, January 28, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, March 4, 1971: 1; *Dail*y *Nati*on, Saturday, February 13, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Friday, May 7, 1971: 1; Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa:* 212; *New York Times*, August 1, 1971: 4; *New York Times*, August 25, 1971: 14; *New York Times*, August 26, 1971: 2; *New York Times*, August 28, 1971: 3; *New York Times*, 31, 1871: 12.

Although increased state terror discouraged many people from challenging the regime, it did not prevent cross-border invasions by refugee warriors. For example, in April 1972, armed Acoli and Langi refugee warriors invaded the country from southern Sudan. The refugee warriors had been trained at Owinykibul by the Khartoum government. However, like the invasions of Mutukuka and Mbarara, this one was hastily planned and poorly executed. The result was similar: the invasion was easily crushed. In fact, the government claimed that the Chui Battalion in the north killed at least 600 refugee warriors. Those who were captured were executed before thousands of Acoli and Langi spectators. To deter invasions, the government also employed collective punishment against the Acoli in the area: villages, hamlets, granaries and crops were destroyed. As during the colonial period, the collective punishment or "pacification" caused mass displacement in Acoli.[82]

The two invasions had a number of other implications. First, they increased the intensity and duration of political violence in the country. For example, Eustace G. Rutiba noted that the invasions "marked the beginning of a new wave of repression throughout the country. Firing squads and other forms of public executions, which were hitherto unknown, became popular in this reign of murder."[83] Secondly, the regime increased its repression and terror so much that its opponents went underground. Thirdly, the invasions forced the regime to hastily expand its coercive potential by recruiting into the armed forces and other security agencies, thousands of people from groups that were unlikely to challenge the regime: refugees from southern Sudan, eastern Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda and the Middle East. The regime also expanded the powers of the death squads: the State Research Bureau (SRB), the Public Safety Unit (PSU), the Marine, Military Police, Anti-Corruption Unit (ACU) and the Anti-Smuggling Unit (ASU), to eliminate its perceived challengers. Fourthly, while the expanded size of the army provided the regime with a sense of security, it led to unprecedented increases in military expenditures. This drained the scarce national resources from productive sectors of the economy and, in turn, exacerbated the crisis of legitimacy of both the regime and the state.[84]

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[81] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; *Daily Nation*, Friday, February 12, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, January 28, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, March 4, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation,* Saturday, February 13, 1971: 1; *Daily Nation*, Friday, May 7, 1971: 1.

[82] Respondents No. 45, three Acoli refugee warriors who took part in the invasion from southern Sudan, interview by author, Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK), Imani House, Nairobi, July 8, 1992; "Sudan: the South and Uganda," *Africa Confidential*, 13, 8 (April 21, 1972): 1–2; Mittelman, I*deology and Politics in Uganda*: 202; Daily *Nation*, Nairobi, Friday, May 7, 1971: 1.

[83] Rutiba, *Towards Peace*: 12.

The regime also attempted to address the severe crisis of legitimacy by turning against the very Asians who had hailed the coup as a vote of no confidence in Obote's socialism.[85] According to Rev. David Mason of the British Council of Churches, there were 76,600 Asians in Uganda in December 22, 1969. Out of this total, 1600 were citizens of India, 30,000 were Ugandan citizens, 30,000 were British citizens and about 15,000 were stateless persons who had either applied for Ugandan or British citizenships.[86] The Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*, suggested that in 1971, there were some 70,000 Asian residents of Uganda. Of these, 23,242 were Ugandan citizens; 12,000 had applied for citizenship but their applications were canceled by the regime; and the remaining 34,758 held British, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladesh, Tanzanian and Kenyan passports.[87]

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[84] Respondents No. 31, three politicians from Lango, Nairobi, July 15, 1992; Respondents No. 36, two former UA officers from Ajumani, Nairobi, July 4, 1992; Respondents No. 39, seven secondary school teachers, Gulu, July 3, 1983; Respondents No. 41, two professors at Makerere University, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 46, two former senior civil servants who served in the Amin regime, interview by author, London, September 2, 1995; The International Commission of Jurists, *Uganda Human Rights*. Geneva: ICJ, 1977: 5; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 103–108; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*: 294, 303; Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*: 212–215; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda:* 12; C. P. Dogde and P. D. Wiebe, eds., *Crisis in Uganda: the Breakdown of Health Services*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985; Uganda Government, *Education Policy Review Commission Report*. Kampala, January 1989.

[85] See *New York Times*, March 26, 1972: 14; *New York Times*, March 27, 1972: 11; Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History:* 271; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military*: 108.

[86] See Rev. David Mason, *The Crisis for British Asians in Uganda*. London, The British Council of Churches, October 1970: 9. See also "Uganda: Asian Logistics," *Africa Confidential,* 13, 16 (August 11, 1972): 4.

[87] Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 486.

The Asians were targeted because of three related reasons. First, the widespread anti-Asian sentiments that persisted since the colonial era suggested to the regime that expelling the Asians would reduce the crisis of legitimacy. Secondly, the country was experiencing a severe economic crisis, in particular a high level of unemployment. In such a situation, people have a tendency to blame "aliens" or "outsiders" for their plights. Indeed, the Asians, including Ugandan-Asians who were perceived as aliens, were blamed for the economic crisis.[88] The growing anti-Asian sentiment and the economic crisis provided Amin with the opportunity to play the role of a nationalist by accusing the Asians of being anti-Uganda and anti-Africa: frustrating the efforts of the Africans to participate in the commercial life of the country; exporting large sums of money illegally to Europe and North America; over-invoicing of imports and under-invoicing of exports; refusing to integrate into the Ugandan society; and "milking the cow without feeding it."[89] Amin then declared that: "We are determined to make the ordinary Ugandan master [*sic*] of his own destiny, and above all to see that he enjoys the wealth of his country. Our deliberate policy is to transfer the economic control of Uganda into the hands of Ugandans, for the first time in our country's history."[90]

Thereafter, the Asians were ordered to leave the country. Professor Mamdani provided a succinct account of how the expulsion was carried out:

> On June 28, 1971, the general assured the African traders that his government would do everything in its power to place the economy in their hands. On October 7, a census of Asian population only was ordered, and every Asian was required to carry a 'green card.' On December 7, following the 'Asian census,' Amin put a stamp of finality on the non-citizen status of many Asian traders by canceling the applications of over 12,000 Asians for citizenship. At the same time, he called together a conference of 'Asian community leaders' and accused them of economic malpractice, of sabotaging government policies, and of failing to integrate into the community....

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[88] Respondents No. 4, four prominent members of UPC-without Obote, Kampala, August, 1992; Respondents No. 11, ten long-serving members of UPC and 15 long-serving members of DP, Arua, Gulu, Jinja, Kabale, Kitgum, Mbale, Mbarara and Soroti, June–August, 1984; Respondents No. 41, two professors at Makerere University, Kampala, August 1992.

[89] Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 486. Ironically, the former Finance Minister of India, Morarji Desai, made a similar observation when he suggested that India was not keen at taking the expelled Asians because they tended to invest their money in London, not in underdeveloped countries. See "Uganda: Asian Logistics," *Africa Confidential*, 13, 16 (August 11, 1972): 5.

[90] Cited in Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History:* 288.

Mamdani further noted that:

> On January 5, 1972, Amin warned thirteen representatives of the Asian community that 'Uganda is not an Indian colony.' A week later he said he would like to see Ugandans owning businesses on Kampala main street.... On May 9, the minister of finance was instructed to tell the Bank of Uganda to give available money to Africans and not to Asians.... The process reached its culminating point on August 9 when—addressing the Annual Conference of Cooperative Societies in Uganda… Amin proclaimed that non-citizen Asians would have to leave Uganda in three months.... The citizen Asians, asked to queue in order to confirm the validity of their citizenship, found their passports and certificates torn up. Eventually all Asians were expelled.[91]

The news of the expulsion triggered competing responses from the diverse factions of the Asian community in the country. For example, when Amin indicated that only those Asians with British, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh passports would leave the country, the rest of the Asians rejoiced because the expulsion would reduce commercial competition. However, this response soon changed when Ugandan-Asians also became the target for expulsion.[92] According to Mamdani, two categories of Asians, small-scale urban traders and lower level civil servants, and well-to-do professionals, were also quite happy with the expulsion. This was so because they had all along wanted to emigrate to Britain to escape the Africanization of the civil service and commerce, and the nationalization of firms and industries. However, they had failed to emigrate to Britain because of the Quota Voucher System. This time, they felt that the restriction would be lifted to allow them to emigrate to the country of their first choice.[93]

From the very beginning of the political violence that targeted the Asians, Amin's actions encouraged wealthy Asians to respond by doing what they had done so well since the early 1960s: they under-invoiced exports and over-invoiced imports. This strategy allowed them to smuggle out a lot of foreign currency from the country. When the government undermined this strategy, they invested millions of dollars in air tickets. Once they were out of the country, they were refunded money for the unused tickets. As soon as the government clamped down on this racket, the Asians adopted another strategy: buying and driving many expensive vehicles from Uganda to Kenya. Once in Kenya, the vehicles were sold and the money was kept outside Uganda. By the time this activity was outlawed, most of the wealthy Asians had repatriated most their money from the country.[94]

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[91] Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*: 305–6. See also, Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refuge*: 13–17. Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 487, pointed out that Amin "realised that he was bound by international law to recognise his citizens. His Decrees No. 27 and 29 of 1972 and No. 27 of 1973 exempted the assets of Uganda citizens of Asian extraction from expropriation. He did not chase them but he frightened them so much that they left."

[92] See Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee:* 19–21; International Commission of Jurists, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*. Geneva, ICJ, May 1974: 7–8. Later, Ugandans would respond to political violence in a similar manner.

[93] Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee:* 32–33.

The strategies the Asians adopted to cope with the expulsion made Amin quite nervous about the potential effects on the economy. Consequently, in the last two months of the exodus, the regime employed excessive terror to discourage the Asians from focusing on anything other than their personal security. The result was that many Asians were detained, harassed, raped, beaten and robbed by security forces.[95] Increased terror against the Asians was partly influenced by the September 1972 armed invasion of Masaka and Mbarara by Ugandan refugee warriors from Tanzania. Among other things, the invasion was intended to suggest to the international community, whose eyes were focused on Uganda, that the regime was extremely brutal and unpopular in the country. Since the international community was opposed to the expulsion and were reluctant to resettle the Asians, the refugee warriors reasoned, it would find it cost effective to help them topple the regime.[96] Increased terror against the Asians was also intended to force the British government to speed up the exodus of the Asians. From the perspective of the regime this strategy was appropriate because, since the 1960s, the British government had refused to give valid vouchers and passports to some 30,000 British-Asians in Uganda to emigrate to Britain. When terror against the Asians failed to persuade Britain to take the Asians, security forces rounded up the first 100 white British citizens they found on the streets of Kampala. This terror tactic persuaded the British government to hastily evacuate the Asians.[97]

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[94] Ibid: 22.

[95] For a fairly exhaustive report on the violence unleashed against the Asians, see International Commission of Jurists, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*.: 3–9.

[96] Respondents No. 47, two Lieutenant Colonels and a Major in the UNLA who participated in the invasions of Mbarara and Masaka, conversation with author, Nakasero, Kampala, May 27, 1983; Respondents No. 48, four Langi refugee warriors who participated in the invasions of Mbarara and Masaka from Tanzania, interview by author, London, December 28, 1993. See *New York Times*, August 20, 1972: 13. Museveni, *Selected Articles on Uganda Resistance War*: 5, suggested that many insurgents, including those who participated in the September invasion, were executed by firing squad in their respective home districts.

The expulsion of the Asians received overwhelming political support from the indigenous population not affected by this project. For example, thousands of African traders supported it because it provided them with the opportunity to improve their lot and face less competition. At Makerere University, for example, both the "radical" and "conservative" scholars and students generally applauded it. The radicals supported it because the anti-imperialist rhetoric that accompanied the expulsion suggested the possibility of formulating a socialist agenda for the country. The conservatives, for their part, embraced it because it offered them the opportunity to develop a viable African business class. The unemployed, for example, endorsed it enthusiastically because it offered them the opportunity to replace the Asians. The peasants, for their part, supported it because they hoped that it would lead to higher prices for their produce and lower prices for essential commodities. Finally, African nationalists supported it because they believed that political independence without economic independence was meaningless.[98] Thus, the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights in Uganda* concluded that: "Whatever its inhumanity in conception, brutality in execution and economic doom that followed, many Ugandans and African peasantry saw it as a promotion of African dignity and personality. This was indicative of the fact that the expulsion was on the whole, popular amongst Ugandans."[99] The expulsion, therefore, reduced the crisis of legitimacy of the incumbents on the domestic front and provided the regime with the political space it needed to consolidate its power. [100]

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[97] Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*: 23–6, 55; *New York Times*, August 12, 1972: 3; *New York Times*, September 18, 1972: 1; *New York Times*, September 21, 1972: 6; "Uganda: Asians Logistics," *Africa Confidential*, 13, 16 (August 11, 1972): 3–5.

[98] Simply, many Ugandans saw the expulsion as an attempt to end illegitimate discrimination. Professor H. Adelman's analysis of legitimate and illegitimate discrimination is quite useful in understanding reasons for and justifications of the expulsion of the Asians. See H. Adelman, ed., *Legitimate and Illegitimate Discrimination: New Issues in Migrations.* Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1995, especially: vii–ix, 41–44.

[99] Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Violations of Human Rights*: 487. See also, International Commission of Jurists, *Uganda and Human Rights.* Geneva: ICJ, 1977: 7.

[100] For a similar observation, see Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 22; International Commission of Jurists, *Uganda Human Rights*: 7–8. For a reductionist and misleading class analysis of the support the regime received for the expulsion, see Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*: 46–55.

Abroad, the threat to expel the Asians received mixed reactions. For example, Britain, Canada, USA, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Brazil, West Germany, Belgium and Austria condemned it.[101] This response had more to do with the challenges of sharing the "burden" of resettling the Asians than with any possible violations of human rights and international law and international norms by the Amin regime.[102] After condemning the regime for issuing the order, Britain, which had enacted the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of March 1968 to restrict the entry of British-Asians to Britain,[103] tried to persuade Amin to reconsider his decision. In the meantime, it made every possible effort to prevent the Asians, including British-Asians, from entering the country. For example, in early August 1972, the Home Secretary, R. Carr, met with officials of major airlines and shipping companies and warned them against transporting the expelled Asians to Britain, unless the Asians had valid vouchers and British passports. Ironically, Britain was not willing to offer most of the British-Asians such documents.[104] The anti-Asian response by Britain was also influenced in part by the pledge Prime Minister, Edward Heath, made during the elections: to limit Asian immigration to Britain. This pledge and its implementation were in part an attempt to contain "racial violence" in Great Britain by making it extremely difficult for "Blacks" to immigrate to the country. The Rt. Hon. Enoch Powell, for example, echoed these feelings when he appealed to his fellow white British in April 1968 to stop the influx of Blacks into the country. If they failed to do so, he warned, their women would fail to obtain hospital beds on childbirth, they would fail to find schools for their children and their neighborhoods would change beyond recognition.[105] Another objective of the response was to deter other African states, which were contemplating similar measures, from expelling hundreds of thousands of British-Asians.[106]

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[101] The majority of the Asians went to the UK and Canada. The rest went to India, Pakistan, Brazil, USA, Australia, the Netherlands, Austria, West Germany and Belgium. See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 487–8.

[102] For a discussion about the legality of the expulsion, see D.V. Sharma and F.Woolridge, "Some Legal Questions Arising from the Expulsion of the Ugandan Asians," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 23, 2 (April 1974): 397–425.

[103] See Manson, *The Crisis for British Asians in Uganda*: 3.

[104] See *New York Times*, August 12, 1972: 3.

[105] See A. Sivanandah, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*. London: Pluto Press, 1982: 117; H. Adelman, "A Survey of Post-War Refugee Intakes and Developments in Canadian Refugee Policy," Centre for Refugee Studies, 1990: 11.

When negotiations with Amin collapsed, Prime Minister Heath froze a $24.5 million loan to Uganda. This was intended to suggest to the Amin regime that the decision to expel the Asians would have adverse effects on its economy and international relations. When this strategy failed, Britain appealed to the international community to take the Asians. It also began to make contingency plans for the influx of British-Asians by setting up transit camps and emergency housing.[107] On September 14, 1972, it announced that 12 countries, including Canada, New Zealand and Sweden, had agreed to offer asylum to some of the Asian refugees.[108] On October 3, 1972, the USA announced that it would resettle 1000 stateless Asians.[109]

In many African countries, including Kenya, Zambia, Nigeria and Liberia, the expulsion was quite popular. For example, the *Liberian* of August 11, 1972, reported in its editorial that Uganda's expulsion of the Asians "should serve as a warning to those who flock into a developing country to exploit its resources and ship money out without reinvesting any money for social growth of that country." It concluded its observation by suggesting that "Uganda's approach is a sign that patience of Africans is running out."[110]

Similarly, in Kenya the expulsion was applauded by both the regime and the masses. To begin with, in 1965 and 1966, some 6000 British-Asians left Kenya for Britain. In 1967, more British-Asians fled to Britain, following the introduction of the Africanization policy by President Kenyatta. This development, among others, compelled the British government to enact the 1968 *Commonwealth Immigrant Act*. This Act required British-Asians to apply for admission into Britain. This immigration deterrence policy suggested that British-Asians were not as British as their citizenships and passports indicated. It also meant that many British-Asians, including those in Kenya, were potentially stateless.[111] By the time Amin declared his intention to expel the Asians, Kenya was on the verge of expelling tens of thousands of such Asians. Immediately after Amin expelled the Asians, some of them, including those who held Kenyan passports, fled to Kenya. The influx forced the Vice-President of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, to declare on August 7, 1972, that maximum border patrols would be mounted to keep the Asians out of the country.[112] On August 15, 1972, Moi warned that any Kenyan-Asian who provided shelters to the Asian refugees would face severe punishment.[113] This was followed by a statement from another Kenyan Minister, M. Shikuku, on August 21, 1972 that most Kenyans, including members of the cabinet, fully supported Amin's decision to expel the Asians.[114] This response forced the British government to declare that it was not prepared to accept another sudden mass expulsion of Asians, including British-Asians.[115]

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[106] See *New York Times*, August 10, 1972: 4; *New York Times*, August 11, 1972: 28; *New York Times*, August 13, 1972: 9; *New York Times*, August 19, 1972: 3.

[107] See Home Office, *Uganda Resettlement Board. Interim Report*. London: HMSO, May 1973; Home Office, *Uganda Resettlement Board. Final Report*. London: HMSO, April 1974; *New York Times,* August 13, 1972: 9; *New York Times*, August 30. 1972: 2.

[108] See *New York Times*, 15, 1972: 4; *New York Times*, August 25, 1972: 3. According to Adelman, A Survey of Post-War Intakes and Developments in Canadian Refugee Policy: 11, Canada took a total of 7,069 Ugandan-Asians. The refugees Canada took were the cream of those expelled from Uganda.

[109] See *New York Times*, October 3, 1972: 10.

[110] Cited in *New York Times*, August 12, 1972: 3.

When it became abundantly clear that the expulsion was quite popular in Africa, Amin publicly encouraged the Kenyan government to do what was popularly supported by the masses of the Africans. He then pledged military, political and moral support to the Kenyan government to enable it to carry out the popular demand of its people.[116] This pledge made Amin quite popular in Kenya. Amin's popularity in Kenya was reported by the Kenyan newspapers, Radio Uganda, Uganda Television and *Uganda Argus*. The result was that the regime improved its image and support at home.[117]

The popularity of Amin's action, among other considerations, compelled the Vice-President of Kenya, Moi, to explain to the Commonwealth Conference in Canada in August 1973 why it was necessary for African governments to expel Asians: "African countries were interested in promoting their own people in as many aspects of their economy as possible, so non-citizens who might frustrate this policy have progressively to find alternative places of residence." For these reasons, he continued, "Kenya believed in extensive consultations within the Commonwealth so that there is no misunderstanding, particularly when Kenya makes Asian non-citizens leave in order to make way for its own people in commerce, employment and so forth." Referring indirectly to Britain, he declared that no country "should expect another to carry the burden of its own citizens if such an act conflicts with the interests of the latter."[118] Indirectly, Kenya's position at the Conference provided some international legitimacy to Amin's action.

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[111] See Manson, *The Crisis for British Asians in Uganda*: 3; Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger:* 109–110; Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*: 63–64.

[112] See *New York Times*, August 9, 1972: 9; *New York Times,* August 11, 1972: 3.

[113] See *New York Times*, August 16, 1972: 3.

[114] *New York Times*, August 22, 1972: 15.

[115] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2723B.

[116] *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973, Ibid.

[117] Respondents No. 41, two professors at Makerere University, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 49, six Ugandan refugees, conversation with author, Toronto, March 13, 1992.

The political violence against the Asians had a number of other important effects. According to the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), the expulsion violated the rights of the Asians because it "involved serious policy of racial discrimination;" failed "to provide adequately for compensating those who had been expropriated;" was brutal and breached "the principles of good neighborliness enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;" and was a violation of the right to nationality of those Asians who were entitled to Uganda nationality.[119] The ICJ also claimed that the expulsion made the international community focus its attention exclusively on the plight of the Asians, thereby obscuring "the scale of the internal repression and loss of life among the African population."[120] However, the last point failed to recognize at least two basic facts: that Britain and USA, that represented the international community, supported the Amin regime when they knew that it was busy exterminating the Acoli and Langi. Their preoccupation with the Asian question was based on the fact that Britain had to find other countries to resettle Asian refugees.[121] In fact, even after the murder of Archbishop Janani Luwum in February 1977, the Jimmy Carter administration was still opposed to economic sanction against the regime. Thus, R.D. Nurnberger observed that:

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[118] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1973: 2945A.

[119] ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: 63. See also, ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 4–9. The ICJ did not, however, make a similar observation about the violations of the rights of the Asians by the British government. It also failed to locate its report within the broader debates on the right to development, which the Amin regime, like many other African regimes that applauded the expulsion, raised. For the debates on the right to development, see, for example, L. O. Adegbite, "African Attitudes to the International Protection of Human Rights," in A. Eide and A. Schou, eds., *International Protection of Human Rights*. New York: Interscience Publishers, 1968: 69–81; P. Alston, "Making Space for Human Rights: The Case of the Right to Development," 1, *Harvard Human Rights Yearbook* (Spring 1988): 22; C. R. Beitz, "Economic Rights and Distributive Justice in Developing Societies," 33, 3, *World Politics* (April 1981): 321–46; A. M. J. Cobbah, "African Values and the Human Rights Debate: An African Perspective," 9, *Human Rights Quarterly* (August 1987): 309–31; E. de Kadt, "Some Basic Questions on Human Rights and Development," 8, 2, *World Development* (February 1980): 97–105; R. Howard, *Human Rights in Commonwealth Africa*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1986.

[120] ICJ., *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 5. It seems that this point was partly based on a legal perspective that international laws and international instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil

> Idi Amin's brutal regime in Uganda presented a series of unique and complicated dilemmas for American policy makers. Despite its stated commitment to the cause of human rights, the administration of President Jimmy Carter opposed the imposition of economic sanctions against Uganda.... By 1977, when Congress began seriously to focus attention on Uganda, the United States already had closed its embassy in Kampala and discontinued all economic and security assistance. Despite increasing evidence of American corporate support for Amin's regime, Carter specifically opposed Congressional initiatives to impose economic sanctions.... The administration claimed that economic sanction would be ineffective and inconsistent with America's free trade policies.[122]

Another effect of the expulsion was that it increased the economic crisis by depriving the economy of human capital and investments, thereby generating more instability, increasing corruption in the economy and stimulat-

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and Political Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights, could have been used against the executive violence in Uganda. These instruments, even if they were applicable in the case of Uganda, are quite impotent because they depend on the political willingness of the international community and the state in question. For a similar perspective on the impotence of these instruments, see C. Van den Wijingaert, "Repressive Violence: a Legal Perspective," in M. Hoefnagels, eds., *Repression and Repressive Violence*. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1977: 51–54; B. G. Ramcharan, *The Concept and Present Status of the International Protection of Human Rights: Forty Years After the Universal Declaration*. Boston: Martinus Nijoff Publishers, 1989.

[121] For a start, see R. D. Nurnberger, "United States and Idi Amin: Congress to the Rescue," *African Studies Review*, XXV, 1 (March 1982): 49–65; Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 62–91; Kakole and Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society": 276. For a discussion of possible connexions between human rights and foreign policies, see, for a start, P. Brown and D. MacLean, eds., *Human Rights and US Foreign Policy*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1979; P. H. Koehn, *Refugees From Revolution*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991: 9–10.

[122] Nurnberger, "United States and Idi Amin: Congress to the Rescue": 49, 56, 57.

ing the growth of the *magendo* or illegal parallel economy.[123] Also, as the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Violations of Human Rights in Uganda* noted,

> The new Ugandan or African business men [*sic*] who were allocated and acquired properties and business did not only lack managerial skills but also information on importation, export, purchase, sales and marketing.... Slowly but surely shops became empty which resulted into shortage of commodities, hoarding and speculative trading.... Smuggling became rampant. Prices and inflation went up.[124]

The economic decay—which resulted in part from attempts by the peasants to minimize their losses from the predatory state by producing "non-export" crops and selling them in unofficial markets—was exemplified by the total neglect of schools, roads and hospitals. This crisis, partly a result of the global economic and financial crisis that ravaged the economies of many "developing" countries during this period, exacerbated the severe crisis of legitimacy of the regime so much that the regime spent more scarce economic resources on security agencies to secure its survival. The more it spent the scarce resources on the machinery of terror, and the more it terrorized the society, however, the more unpopular and insecure it became.[125]

The Search for Legitimacy on the Regional Front

Kenya's recognition of the Amin regime made it easier for the regime to consolidate its power. It led also to a substantially improved relations between the two countries. These cordial relations, however, deteriorated in 1973, when an estimated 100 Kenyan employees of the East

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[123] See C. Gertzel, "The Politics of Uneven Development: The Case of Obote's Uganda," (deposited at the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, University of Manchester, UK), n.d: 21–38. For similar views about the links between political violence and economic decay, see N. Ball, "The Effects of Conflict on Economies of the Third World Countries," in F. M. Deng and I. W. Zartman, eds., *Conflict Resolution in Africa*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1991: 272–96; Deng and Zartman, eds. Ibid: 1–15; Gupta, *The Economics of Political Violence*; M. Volkov, "Interrelations between Militarism, Arms Race and Economic Development," *Development of Peace*, 9, 2 (Autumn, 1988): 210–215.

[124] Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Violations of Human Rights*: 493.

[125] See Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 140–1.

African Community (EAC) "disappeared" in Uganda.[126] The Kenyan government attempted to resolve the matter through back-door diplomacy. This strategy, however, was thrown off balance by the confrontational strategy adopted by the trade unions and the Kenyan commercial newspapers. For example, on February 6, 1973, the Secretary-General of the East African Union of Post and Telecommunication Engineers (Kenya), C. Adongo, told the press that all senior expatriate officials at the Kampala Headquarters of the East African Post and Telecommunications Corporation had fled to Nairobi because of insecurity and frequent disappearances of their colleagues. He then demanded that the government of Kenya ask the Amin regime to produce a list of all Kenyans who had disappeared or been killed. "How can you call the death of foreigners in a particular State an internal matter of that State?" he challenged the Kenyan government. [127] Adongo concluded by condemning the "East African Community partner states and the OAU for remaining silent while life was made a 'plaything' in a member state."[128] A similar view was echoed by the two leading Nairobi-based newspapers, the *Daily Nation* and the *East African Standard*. The *Daily Nation* was particularly concerned about the disappearance of one of its workers, Muli, whose car had been found in a military barrack in Kampala.[129]

President Amin responded to the challenge emanating from Kenya by assuring President Kenyatta that a full and prompt enquiry into the disappearances would be carried out.[130] He then attempted to undermine the credibility of the Nairobi-based newspapers by claiming that they were controlled and manipulated by groups that had been expelled from Uganda: the Asians and the Israelis. The British imperialists and the apartheid regime in South Africa, he further claimed, had considerable business interests in the newspapers.[131] Thereafter, he dismissed the attack from the trade union by suggesting that the Union was being manipulated by Kenyan Luo. This ethnic group, he claimed, was re-echoing the unpopular views of some of its disgruntled Luo brothers and sisters in Uganda: the Acoli and Langi. In the end, the crisis was resolved through back-door diplomacy.[132]

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[126] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2751AB.

[127] *Africa Research Bulletin* , February 1–28, 1973: 2751A.

[128] Ibid.

[129] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2751B.

[130] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2752A.

[131] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2751C. Amin had already expelled the Israelis from Uganda between March 23, 1972 and March 28, 1972. After the expulsion, he handed over the Israeli embassy in Kampala to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In return, he received military, economic and political support from the Soviet Union, Libya, Saudi Arabia and other Islamic states in the Middle East. See *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, March 1, 1972: 1; *Daily Nation*, Friday, March 24, 1972: 1; *Daily Nation*,

At the beginning of 1976, however, relations between the two countries were once more strained. This time, the problem was over the disappearance of some Kenyan students at Makerere University. The problem began when the death squads murdered a Ugandan law student at Makerere University, Paul Serwanga, and the warden of Mary Steward Hall, Theresa Bukenya. These incidents were followed by a major anti-regime demonstration by the students. During the demonstration, the students demanded, among other things, the removal of Amin's son from the university because he was illiterate and had become a major source of insecurity. Security officers responded to the anti-regime activities by raping and killing some students. Among those killed was a Kenyan female student. It was also reported that some Kenyan students "disappeared" during the encounter.[133]

The Kenyan government, under enormous pressure from the militant students of Nairobi University, condemned the manner in which the regime handled the crisis at Makerere University. It also accused the regime of raping, detaining, harassing and killing some Kenyans in Uganda, and destabilizing Kenya. As tensions between the two countries escalated, President Kenyatta appealed to the visiting US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, to supply Kenya with more weapons. The appeal was justified on the grounds that the USSR was providing arms to Uganda. The Kenyan government also suggested that it needed the arms to deter Somalia and Tanzania from destabilizing the country.[134] In keeping with the Cold War politics, Kenya received massive military assistance from the USA. The arrival of the arms was widely publicized to deter Uganda, Somalia and Tanzania from engaging in acts of aggression against Kenya.[135]

Wednesday, March 29, 1972: 5; *New York Times*, April 11, 1972: 3; *New York Times*, April 22, 1972: 5.

[132] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2751BC.

[133] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* March 1–31, 1976: 3950BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1976: 4129B–4148A.

[134] See *New York Times,* April 26, 1975: 4.

[135] The crisis between Somalia and Kenya dated back to the turn of the century when the colonial power, Britain, in both states ceded one of the territories inhabited largely by the

The Uganda government responded to the accusations made against it by accusing Kenya of killing seven Ugandan soldiers, who had accidentally crossed into Kenya. It also accused the Kenyan government of ordering its security agents to rape Ugandan women in Kenya and detain thousands of Ugandan refugees. It then warned Kenya against collaborating with Israel and America to invade Uganda. In keeping with the politics of the Cold War and the arms race, it then acquired massive arms from Libya and the USSR.[136]

Tensions between the two neighboring countries further escalated following the arrival of a hijacked Air France plane to Entebbe on June 27, 1976. The plane, which had originated from Tel Aviv on the morning of Sunday, June 27, 1976, was hijacked on its way from Athens to Paris. The terrorists were led by a West German man and a West German woman, supported by Palestinians terrorists. Most of the passengers were Israelis. Upon the arrival of the plane, the terrorists threatened to kill all the hostages unless 40 Palestinian prisoners held in Israel, 1 held in France, 1 held in Switzerland, 6 held in West Germany and 5 held in Kenya were released by noon on July 1, 1976. President Amin, who was still the Chairman

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Somali, the Northern Frontier District, to Kenya. Since that time, Kenyan-Somali and Somali from Somalia waged a series of wars to reunite their territories and peoples under the republic of Somalia. The crisis persisted in the late 1970s, despite the fact that both Kenya and Somalia were satellites of the USA during that period of the Cold War. With respect to the Kenya-Tanzania relations, the two countries were busy expelling each other's citizens. They were also busy trading insults at each other. For example, Tanzania condemned the regime in Kenya for exploiting and oppressing the majority of Kenyans. It also accused Kenya of expelling 442 Tanzanians from the country in June 1976 and of trying to break up the EAC. According to the Tanzanian Minister of the Home Affairs, Ali Mwinyi, Kenya had expelled Tanzanians thrice in 1975, and six times in 1976. Kenya responded by accusing Tanzania of eliminating its political opponents in staged car accidents. It also condemned the regime in Tanzania of starving the masses by implementing the unpopular and failed socialist project. For a discussion of the crises, see O. Otunnu, "Factors Affecting the Treatment of Kenya-Somalis and Somali Refugees in Kenya," *Refuge*, 12, 5 (November–December, 1992): 21–26; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30: 3985C–3986B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1976: 4017B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1976: 4050A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1975:.3649A–C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1976: 3950B–3951A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1976: 4116A–C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, September 1–30, 1976: 4149A–C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1976: 4217A–B.

[136] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1976: 3985C–3986; "Uganda Arms," *Africa Confidential*, 16, 8 (April 25, 1975): n.p., under "People, Projects and Pointers"; "African Arms Race," *Africa Confidential*, 17, 22 (November 5, 1976): 46; "Uganda: Amin's Army," *Africa Confidential*, 15, 23 (November 22, 1974): 2.

of the OAU, took advantage of the incident to publicize his leadership skills and humanitarian role in negotiating the release of the hostages. Aware of the enormous international attention this incident attracted, he prolonged the negotiations so that he could dominate international news coverage as a humanitarian. Amin's claim as humanitarian and a negotiator gained some credibility when 103 hostages, most of them non-Jews, were released. However, the strategy to prolong the negotiation, in order to win international legitimacy, was rudely interrupted when rumors began to circulate that Britain, Israel, France and the USA were preparing to invade Uganda from Kenya. The motive for the impending invasion, it was rumored, was to rescue the hostages and punish Amin for collaborating with the terrorists. Amin responded to this development by relocating some of the hostages so that any rescue invasion would not succeed. This development coincided with increased opposition to Amin from a section of the army.[137] To preempt the invasion and deflect the internal crisis in the army, he threatened to protect the interests of "Ugandans" whose land had been handed over to Kenya and Sudan during the colonial era.[138] His claim was supported by a well-researched booklet he produced: *The Shaping of Modern Uganda and Administrative Divisions.*[139]

The Kenyan government responded by declaring that it would not part with an inch of its territory.[140] It then condemned the Chairman of the OAU, Amin, for openly violating the charter of the organization that emphasized the imperative of safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states. The condemnation was followed by numerous anti-Amin demonstrations in Kenya. The demonstrators denounced Amin as a killer and a lunatic.[141] President Kenyatta, whose health and legitimacy were on the retreat, took advantage of the popular anti-Amin sentiments and declared: "We shed blood to wrest our independence from colonialists.... We know how far our borders extend and we shall teach whoever has doubts as to where our borders are."[142] This was followed by a 48-hour ultimatum given to Amin by the Mombasa dockers who demanded that Amin apologize and withdraw his territorial claim. If Amin refused to do so, the dockers threatened, the imports and exports of the land-locked country, Uganda, would not be handled through Mombasa. Next, the Kenyan government blocked the flows of goods and services to the land-locked country by closing its border. This economic blockade intensified the economic crisis in the country and exacerbated the severe crisis of legitimacy of the regime.[143]

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[137] See Tumusiime, ed., *Uganda 30 Years:* 13; *Africa Research Bulletin,* April 1–30, 1976: 3999B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1976: 4029, 4028A; *Africa Research Bulletin* , November 1–30, 1976: 4242B–C; *Africa Research Bulletin,* August 1–31, 1976: 4129B; W. Stevenson, *90 Minutes at Entebbe*. New York: Bantham Books, 1976, especially, introduction, 14–34.

[138] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–29, 1976: 3920A.

[139] Uganda Government, *The Shaping of Modern Uganda Administrative Divisions.* Entebbe: Government Printer, n.d.

[140] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–29, 1976: 3920B.

[141] *Africa Research Bulletin,* February 1–29, 1976: 3929C.

Relations between the two countries further deteriorated when the Israeli airborne commandos refuelled 4 Hercules transport planes and 2 Boeing 707 in Nairobi before rescuing 103 hostages from Entebbe on July 4, 1976. During the raid, the Israelis sustained very limited casualties. However, the raid was very costly to the regime: 25 Ugandan commandos and 7 terrorists were killed, and 11 Migs and 2 of Uganda's transport planes were destroyed. After the raid, which shattered the popular myths in Uganda about the invincibility of the Field Marshal and the Conqueror of the British Empire, Amin Dada, the Israelis refuelled at Nairobi.[144] The raid and the collaboration between the Israelis and Kenya further strained relations between Uganda and Kenya. As a reprisal, the *Daily Nation* reported that immediately after the raid, some 245 Kenyans were murdered in Uganda.[145] On August 8, 1976, the two countries ratified a memorandum of understanding, thereby decreasing tension between them.[146]

Relations between Uganda and Tanzania, on the other hand, were essentially dominated by tensions and political violence. For example, when the Asians were about to leave Uganda in 1972, Nyerere and Obote, with the moral backing of Britain, hurriedly dispatched Ugandan refugee warriors to seize Mbarara and Masaka military barracks. The invasion, however, was decisively crushed.[147]

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[142] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–29, 1975: 3920B.

[143] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–29, 1976: 3920BC; "Amin and OAU," *Africa Confidential*, 17, 11 (May 28, 1976): n.p., under "People, Projects and Pointers"; Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 29.

[144] See "Amin's Consolation," *Africa Confidential*, 17, 15 (July 23, 1976): n.p., under "People, Projects and Pointers;" Stevenso, 90 Minutes at Entebbe: 93–128; Tumusiime, ed., *Uganda 30 Years:* 49; *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4312A–4313C.

[145] *New York Times*, July 11, 1976: 17.

[146] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1976: 4116A–C; *Africa Research Bulletin,* September 1–30, 1976: 4149A–C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1976: 4217A–B

The defeat of the insurgents, however, did not discourage Tanzania from allowing the refugee warriors to use its territory to violently challenge the legitimacy of the Amin regime. For example, on February 3, 1973, it allowed Yoweri Museveni, the leader of a small insurgency group, the Front for National Salvation (Fronasa), to issue a statement to foreign embassies and journalists calling for the overthrow of Amin through armed struggle. This armed struggle was to be championed by the peasants in Uganda. The statement also accused the regime of murdering some 80,000 Ugandans.[148] Although the Fronasa largely existed on paper and had no popular support among the peasants in Uganda, the statement confirmed to the regime that Tanzania was still determined to allow the insurgents to use its territory to destabilize Uganda.[149]

The statement was immediately followed by a summit of the Mulungushi Club, attended by the presidents of Zambia, Zaire and Tanzania. This took place in Arusha on February 6, 1973. One of the major issues the Club discussed was how to resolve the political crisis in Uganda.[150] After the summit, Tanzania provided more political and military support to the insurgents. This development compelled Amin to appeal to the OAU to condemn Nyerere for violating the sovereignty and integrity of a member state.[151] The regime also detained seven Tanzanians who were in Kampala attending interviews with the East African Post and Telecommunications Corporation. According to the government, they were detained for spying for Tanzania and the insurgents.[152] Tanzania retaliated on March 6, 1973, by detaining 48 Ugandans, ostensibly for spying. Most of these people were employees of the East African Harbours Corporation. On April 6, 1973, the detainees were released and some were subsequently deported to Uganda.[153]

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[147] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Ingham, *Obote*: 143; Museveni, *Selected Articles on the Uganda Resistance War*: 5.

[148] *The Observer*, London, claimed that the FRONASA was a Chinese-trained guerrilla movement based in Tanzania. See *The Observer*, February 4, 1973, cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2759AB. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2752BC.

[149] See ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 22.

[150] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2752C and 2753A.

[151] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2717ABC.

[152] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2717ABC.

[153] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1973: 2781; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1973: 2814AB.

The continuous threats from Tanzania directly led to increased political violence against perceived opponents of the Amin regime. Indeed, it was during this period that the regime adopted the firing squad as a deterrence against threats to its legitimacy. The threats also prompted the government to adopt non-violent strategies, such as "attempting" to grant amnesty to Obote and his followers on April 14, 1973, and declaring that general elections would be held as soon as the security situation improved. Unfortunately, for the regime, the non-violent strategies were seen by its opponents as a political ploy. The result was that the refugee warriors continued with their armed opposition.[154]

The continuous activities of the refugee warriors escalated tensions between Uganda and Tanzania so much that the OAU intervened to mediate a settlement in May 1973. Many member states of the OAU also exerted pressure on Tanzania to accept and observe a settlement. The pressure was based on the general perception in many states in Africa that Tanzania had been actively involved in destabilizing Uganda since 1971. This pressure was a major setback for Tanzania because it meant that the overwhelming majority of the member states of the OAU would be less willing to accept the leadership role Tanzania had played in the liberation struggles in southern Africa. For example, referring to Nyerere and Obote, *The Nigerian Observer* of March 29, 1973 urged Nyerere to climb down from his high horse and accept the reality that his friend Obote was no longer the president of Uganda.[155] The pressure was also a major setback for Tanzania because the majority of the members of the OAU were blaming it for the disintegration of the East African Community.[156] In the end, the pressure made it possible for the two countries to reach a temporary settlement.[157]

This truce, however, did not last. For example, immediately after the 20th anniversary of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) on July 10, 1974, Amin warned Tanzania that:

> I want to make it absolutely clear that, should Uganda be invaded again, as the information we have states, I will retaliate by not only striking deep

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[154] Respondents No. 47, two Lieutenant Colonels and a Major in UNLA, Nakasero, Kampala, May 27, 1983; Respondents No. 48, four Langi refugee warriors, London, December 28, 1993; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1973: 2921BC–2822A.

[155] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin,* May 1–31, 1973: 2853A.

[156] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin,* March 1–31, 1973: 2783AB.

[157] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin,* May 1–31, 1973: 2853A.

> into Tanzania, but I will capture and hold on to the areas occupied by the anti-Ugandan guerrillas until all conditions I will demand are fulfilled by Tanzania.... On this occasion the battlefields will be Mwanza, Musoma, Tabora, and Dodoma.[158]

According to Amin, the information was obtained from Tanzanian spies who had been captured in Uganda. The Tanzanians, he further claimed, implicated Zambia in the plot.[159] Tanzania and Zambia, however, denied the allegations. The Government-owned *Zambia Daily Mail* then seized the opportunity to undermine the credibility of Amin:

> It is time General Amin was told by his own people in the know that he has talked so much about imaginary invasions coming from Tanzania that not even his own people now believe him.... We hope forces of peace will not hesitate to tell General Amin that he is not only doing Africa harm but also that he is behaving in a manner that discredits Africa as a whole with his chronic fabrications of imaginary invasions.[160]

The accusations Amin labeled against Tanzania and Zambia had a number of implications for the evolution of political violence in the country. First, they sustained support for the government from a section of the society that was quite opposed to Obote, thereby containing the severe crisis of legitimacy at home. Secondly, they became the most popular and plausible justifications for isolating, demonizing and eliminating Acoli and Langi. Thirdly, they became a standard explanation for the increased political violence, political instability and the economic crisis in the country.[161]

Relations between two countries reached the lowest level in April 1975, when Tanzania, with the support of Zambia and Botswana, openly appealed to other member states of the OAU to oppose Amin's bid to host the OAU Summit in July 1975.[162] This diplomatic campaign coincided with increased insurgency activities in Uganda. For example, the insurgents threw grenades in a number of public places in Kampala and Jinja. They also destroyed a big hydro-electric power station on Jinja Road and circulated pamphlets in Kampala calling for the overthrow of Amin. The insurgency activities were intended to reinforce the diplomatic campaign to prevent Amin from becoming the chairman of the OAU.[163]

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[158] Quoted in *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1974: 3292C, 3293A.

[159] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1974: 3293A.

[160] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1974: 3293AB.

[161] See, for example, *Africa Research Bulletin* , July 1–31, 1974: 3294A; *Africa Research Bulletin,* July 1–31, 1973: 2913C; *Africa Research Bulletin,* July 1–31, 1973: 2914A.

[162] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1975: 3621BC.

The regime, which had become less violent and less repressive in order to win its campaign to host the OAU, responded by eliminating many people, including 26 police officers.[164] To further discourage insurgency activities, it seized the property of many Ugandan refugees and relocated its most loyal military unit, the Malire Mechanised Specialist Reconnaissance Unit, to the Uganda-Tanzania border.[165] It also threatened to reduce Tanzania to rubbles if it continued to sponsor terrorism in Uganda.[166]

When Tanzania's diplomatic and military campaign had virtually collapsed, a major diplomatic crisis developed between Uganda and Britain. At the center of the crisis was the detention of two British citizens: Dennis Hills (a lecturer at Makerere University) and Stanley Smollen. The former was arrested on April 1, 1975, and charged with sedition and spying. The Military Tribunal found him guilty and recommended for his execution on June 21, 1975.[167] The latter was arrested and charged with hoarding, a crime which, under the Economic Crimes Decree, could lead to a ten year imprisonment.[168] These incidents prompted the British Acting High Commissioner in Kampala to challenge the convictions.[169] However, the regime ignored it. This forced the British government to ask President Kenyatta to mediate the conflict. The Amin regime responded by demanding that the British government meet the following conditions:

(1) Stop all malicious propaganda against Amin, the Government and people of Uganda mounted in British and international news media.

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[163] *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1975: 3733AB.

[164] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* April 1–30, 1975: 3600A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1975: 3599C–3600A.

[165] Respondents No. 50, seven Acoli and Langi refugees who sought asylum in Kenya during that period, interview by author, London, June 21, 1995; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1975: 3625BC.

[166] *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1975: 3621BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1975: 3587A–C.

[167] *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1975: 3600A; *New York Times*, June 12 1975: 9.

[168] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1975: 3630B.

[169] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1975: 3630AB.

(2) Expel all Ugandan exiles who have sought asylum in Britain and are spreading unfounded rumors against Uganda.
(3) Halt campaigns aimed at persuading other countries to cut off aid to Uganda.
(4) Stop issuing reports that Uganda was in a state of chaos.
(5) Sell to Uganda all the spare parts required for military equipment which Uganda bought from Britain.
(6) Provide written confirmation, signed by the Prime Minister or the Queen, that the above conditions will be met.[170]

At that point, many countries and institutions sent messages requesting Amin to pardon the two Britons. For example, messages came from the UN Secretary-General, Waldheim, the five Nordic countries, the European Economic Community and many member states of the OAU. These messages were read many times on Radio Uganda and Uganda Television. The idea of reading them repeatedly to Ugandans was to exaggerate the power of President Amin.[171]

As the negotiations dragged on, Queen Elizabeth sent a personal message to Amin to spare the life of Hills. The message was carried by Lieutenant General Sir Chandos Blair and Major Ian Grahme. The messengers took the message to West Nile, where President Amin was attending the African Refugee Day. Before the messengers delivered the message, President Amin sat in a grass-thatched house and instructed that the roof of the house be extended so low that Her Majesty's messengers could only get into the house by crawling. When the messengers arrived, they did exactly what was intended: they crawled on their knees right in front of President Amin. This political drama was reported live on Uganda Television and Radio Uganda.[172] This was followed by a similar incident in which 12 Britons, who had just received Ugandan citizenship, knelt before Amin and then carried him on their shoulders. Again, this drama, which took place in the presence of many African Heads of State, was broadcast live on Uganda Television.[173]

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[170] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1975: 3662BC. See also, *New York Times*, June 15, 1975: 10.

[171] See *New York Times*, June 25, 1975: 2; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1975: 3699; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1975: 3730.

[172] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1975: 3662B–3664C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31: 3699B–3700A; *Africa Research Bulletin,* December 1–31, 1975: 3875B; *New York Times*, June 20, 1975: 2; *New York Times*, June 22, 1975: 3–4; *New York Times*, June 23, 1975: 9; *New York Times*, June 25, 1975: 2.

The two related political drama were presented by many political commentators, including S. Kiwanuka, D. Gwyn, H. Kyemba and T. Melady and M. Melady, as a clear indication that Amin was suffering from schizophrenia. According to them, what they presented as a series of confused orders, "senseless killings," "sadism" and involvement in "blood rituals" by Amin confirmed their medical "diagnosis." The commentators, especially the Meladys and Gwyn, also attempted to explain some actions by the "patient" in terms of Amin's Kakwa warrior tradition, superstitions and witchcraft. For example, they claimed that, in keeping with the Kakwa warrior tradition, Amin ate the flesh of his victims to prevent them from haunting him.[174] What the commentators, who do not understand Kakwa traditions and were not qualified medical experts in the field, failed to understand was the legitimation functions of the drama: they made Amin extremely popular in the country because he had humiliated white men. To ordinary Ugandans, this was a payback moment.[175]

In the meantime, on the eve of the OAU summit, Tanzania made another desperate attempt to prevent Amin from becoming the Chairman of the OAU. This time, it chose to challenge the credibility of those Heads of States who had gathered in Kampala to attend the summit:

> In Uganda, several thousand people have lost their lives. For African heads of government to go there to a summit is tantamount to giving their blessings to these killings. Tanzania will not be party to such blessings.... While it is right that the OAU should fight for victims of colonialism, the organisation should also be used to bring about the dignity of man (*sic*) in independent African countries. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of OAU member states is used as a veneer for perpetrating evil. Such actions

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[173] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* September 1–30, 1975: 3762A; *New York Times*, July 19, 1975: 13; Tumusiime ed., *Uganda 30 Years*: 49.

[174] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 6–9; D. Gawyn, *Idi Amin: Death-Light of Africa*. Boston: Little Brown, 1977: 131–133; H. Kyemba, *State of Blood: The Inside Story of Idi Amin*. New York: Paddington Press, 1977: 108–110; T. Melady and M. Melady, *Idi Amin: Hitler of Africa*. Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1977: 19, 136.

[175] At least Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: iv, is intellectually honest enough to admit that "this is not an academic book." See Respondents No. 41, two professors at Makerere University, Kampala, August 1992.

> erode and compromise Africa's dignity. To hold the summit in Kampala has degraded the OAU and Africa as a whole.[176]

This statement failed to recognize a number of basic facts about leadership in Africa. First, many of the heads of states, such as Colonel Boumedienne (Algeria), Colonel Micombero (Burundi), Colonel Gaddafy (Libya), Colonel Daddah (Mauritania), Colonel Kountche (Niger), General Gowon (Nigeria), General Habyarimana (Rwanda), General Siad Barre (Somalia), General Numeiry (Sudan), General Lamizana (Upper Volta) and General Mobutu (Zaire), had killed their own people in the military coups that brought them to power. Like many of their civilian counterparts in Africa, these rulers maintained their power largely through political violence and repression. Secondly, there was no substantial difference between the out-going Chairman of the OAU, General Siad Barre, and the in-coming Chairman, Field Marshal Amin. Yet, Tanzania worked very closely with Gen. Siad Barre. Finally, Ethiopia, where the seat of the OAU was located and where several OAU summits took place, had for decades unleashed terror against the Eritreans, the Oromos and the Somalis. Yet, Tanzania not only attended all the summits in Ethiopia but also failed to issue such a noble and worthy statement against Emperor Haile Selassie. In any event, only Tanzania, Botswana and Zambia boycotted the summit. The result was that Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada became the Chairman of the OAU.[177]

The rise of Amin to the leadership of the OAU had a number of important implications for the evolution of political violence in the country. First, it accorded the regime more legitimacy at home and abroad.[178] Secondly, it forced the government to restrain state terror and repression during Amin's tenure as Chairman of the OAU. In fact, the government showed an unprecedented clemency toward some of its perceived political opponents during this period.[179] Thirdly, Amin used his new position to enhance his legitimacy in Africa and the Arab world. He also used it effectively to undermine and discredit those who had challenged his legitimacy abroad. For example, when he stood before the UN General Assembly on October 1, 1975, and declared that he would speak in an African language, not in a colonial language, he won the support of many Pan-Africanists. He also won the support of many Pan-Africanists when he condemned France for frustrating the liberation of the Comoro Islands, and the UN Security Council for doing nothing concrete to end the genocide of the apartheid regime in South Africa. His legitimacy was further enhanced in the Arab world when he demanded the immediate expulsion of Israel from the UN so that the stateless people of Palestine may reclaim their territory. In a similar vein, he attempted to undermine the credibility of Britain when he told the General Assembly that the genocide Britain committed in Africa during the colonial era disqualified it from pretending to be a legitimate voice for justice, freedom and human rights. This attack was also intended to erode the effectiveness of the anti-Amin campaign in the British press.[180]

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[176] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1975: 3683C.

[177] *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1975: 3701B; *Africa Research Bulletin,* July 1–31, 1975: 3683A–3686A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1975, p. 3719A; *New York Times*, July 29, 1975: 3. On the question of the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, see C. Young, "The Heritage of Colonialism," in J. W. Harbson and D. Rotchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics*. Oxford: West View Press, 1991: 22. For discussions about the despotic and repressive nature of the Ethiopian regime, see, for a start, R. Lefort, *Ethiopia: An Heretical Revolution?* London: Zed, 1983: 8–73; M. Bulcha, *Flight and Integration: Causes of Mass Exodus from Ethiopia and Problems of Integration in the Sudan*. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1988: 32–61; A. R. Zolberg, A. Shurke and S. Aguayo, eds., *Escape From Violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989: 104–108.

[178] *Africa Research Bulletin,* May 1–31, 1975: 3621C;. *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1975: 3700A; *Africa Research Bulletin,* September 1–30, 1975: 3779A.

Amin's remarks at the UN angered France, Britain, Israel, South Africa and the USA. For example, the US ambassador to the UN, D.P. Moynihan, described the remarks on Israel as a statement from a "racist murderer." Moynihan's remark, however, provoked angry reactions from African states and the Arab League. For example, Dahomey's ambassador, T. Adjibabe, responding on behalf of the OAU, suggested that Africans were not prepared to listen to any propaganda against Amin from states that had no moral credibility on matters of racism and violence. Similarly, M.R. Kikia of Libya, speaking on behalf of the Arab League, condemned the USA for attacking Amin in a very undiplomatic manner. He then suggested that the attack was an attempt by the USA to divert attention from genocide in South Africa and Namibia, and the illegal occupation of Arab territories by Israel.[181]

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[179] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–29, 1976: 3935B; "Amin and OAU," *Africa Confidential,* 17, 11 (May 28, 1976): n.p., under "People, Projects and Pointers."

[180] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1975:. 3811A.

[181] See *New York Times*, October 7, 1975: 1; *New York Times*, October 8, 19761, 9.

The Crisis of Legitimacy in the Cabinet and Civil Service

The cabinet and civil service that promoted and defended Amin at home and abroad began to disintegrate in the second half of 1971. This began when Amin repeatedly and publicly accused the civil service and the cabinet of incompetence. In July 1971, for example, he dismissed the Minister of Public Service, Ovonji, for alleged incompetence. In April 1972, he dismissed ten permanent secretaries ostensibly for failing in their duties. The axe fell again in June 1972, when he dismissed four ministers for the same reasons. This was followed by the dismissal of the Minister of Labour, Byagagire, in December 1972.[182]

By 1977, most of the cabinet ministers and high-ranking civil servants had abandoned the regime. Five main factors explain why these people abandoned the regime that they had worked hard to promote for years. First, rivalries within the cabinet and the civil service escalated so much that some cabinet ministers and civil servants felt too insecure to stay in the country. Secondly, Amin had become so independent-minded that some of the cabinet ministers and civil servants lost their influence and felt quite alienated from him. Thirdly, the ensuing violence had directly touched some of the cabinet ministers and civil servants. Fourthly, some of the cabinet ministers and civil servants felt that Amin would dismiss, humiliate and then place them under house arrest. Finally, some of the cabinet ministers and civil servants had become quite frustrated with the ensuing political violence and the delayed general elections. For example, on February 22, 1973, the Minister of Education, Edward Rugumayo, resigned from the cabinet because he "found it increasingly difficult to fulfill" his responsibilities in the prevailing environment in the country. On March 19, 1973, Rugumayo, who had served the regime when it was exterminating the Acoli and Lango, justified deserting the regime because: Amin was an illiterate soldier; a man of very low intelligence; a man who was medically unfit to rule; a murderer; a racist and a dictator. Similarly, when the Minister of Foreign Affairs and a brother in-law of Amin, Kibedi, discovered that his influence had waned and his life was threatened, he resigned from the cabinet on April 28, 1973, and offered similar justification. Likewise, Kyemba, who had served the regime from

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[182] Ravenhill, "Military Rule in Uganda: The Politics of Survival," *African Studies Review*, 17 (1974): 234.

1971 to 1977, deserted the cabinet when his personal security was threatened. According to Kyemba's statement, all of a sudden, he discovered in 1977 that Amin was a mad man.[183]

The resignation of some of the most articulate and consistent defenders of Amin and his policies created a severe crisis of legitimacy for the regime. This development forced the government to send almost all the cabinet ministers and under-secretaries on a mandatory leave for 30 days'.[184] For most of the ministers, the leave became a permanent one.[185] This measure was intended to suggest to the country that Amin was still in full control of the situation. Another crisis management strategy that Amin adopted was to publicly undermine the credibility of those ministers who deserted him. He did so by suggesting that the human rights situation was the same as when the ex-ministers and former civil servants worked for his government. What had changed, he claimed, was that those who deserted him had become agents of British imperialism.[186] To provide credibility to this strategy, Amin dismissed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Elizabeth Bagaya, for "collaborating" with British and American Imperialists. He accused her also of humiliating African women by having sex with an unknown European in a restroom at the airport in Paris.[187] Another strategy he adopted to secure the survival of his regime was to constantly transfer and demote his cabinet ministers, provincial governors and high-ranking civil servants.[188]

The strategies Amin adopted contained factionalism in the cabinet and made it more difficult for those who contemplated deserting him to claim any credibility. However, the strategies had some unintended effects. First, they created so much uncertainty within the cabinet and the civil service that efficiency and productivity of the government further plummeted. Secondly, they made the regime so suspicious of the civilian population that it increasingly alienated and became more violent toward them. Thirdly, the militarization of the cabinet and civil service eroded both the domestic and international confidence the regime had enjoyed.[189]

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[183] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2760BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1973: 2822B; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 83–4; ICJ, *Open Letter To General Idi Amin From Wanumke Kibedi, Former Uganda Foreign Minister (1971–1973)*, Geneva: United Nations, 1977: 67–93; ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law:* 59–60; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1973: 2822 BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1973: 2858C–2859AB; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military*: 104.

[184] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2760C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1973: 2790BC; Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 134–6.

[185] *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1973: 3011C.

[186] *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1974: 3271C.

[187] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1974: 3424A; *New York Times*, November 29, 1974: 15; *New York Times*, December 7, 1974: 11. *The Daily Express*, London, which had "confirmed" the claim that Bagaya had sex in a restroom in Paris, apologized and compensated her. See *New York Times*, June 24, 1976: 29.

[188] See Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 142.

Disappearances of Political Opponents

During this period, the term "disappearance" came to mean death or detention or flight from the country. The overwhelming majority of those who disappeared were ordinary Acoli and Langi, whose names were never published anywhere.[190] Most of these people were murdered and their bodies were thrown in Karuma Falls.[191] Some of the prominent people who disappeared during this period, included John Kakonge, Basil Batringaya (ex-ministers), Frank Kalimuzo (Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University), Benedicto Kiwanuka (former Prime Minister and Chief Justice), Father Kiggundu (editor of the Catholic paper, *Munno*), Joseph Mbiru (former Governor of the Bank of Uganda) and Nekenia Bananuka (former paramount chief of Ankole).[192]

The regime, however, claimed that the disappearance of thousands of Ugandans was the work of the insurgents:

> The country will, however, remember that since the Birth of the Government of the Second Republic of Uganda, Dr. Obote ran away to Tanzania and

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[189] Almost all the Provincial Governors were military officers: Brigadier Ali Fadul (formerly Acting Chief of Staff), Colonel Ozo (of the First Infantry Brigade, Mbale), Lieutenant Colonel Onna (of the Paratrooper School, Fort Portal), Lieutenant Colonel Eli (of the Mechanised Regiment), Captain Patrick (of Kifaru Mechanised Reconnaissance Regiment) and Captain Mbasha (of the Uganda Airforce). See *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1973: 3077A.

[190] ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: 62.

[191] Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights:* 224–30; Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*: 55.

[192] For a list of some of the prominent people who "disappeared," see ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the rule of Law in Uganda*: 26–30, 39–55; A. M. Obote, "Letter to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia," (deposited at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University), May 1973: 3–12; Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*: 55–60.

> his henchmen have been mounting very intensive propaganda against the Government.... Obote's group and other enemies of the country resorted to another tactic, i.e. kidnapping of some prominent citizens of this country with a view of creating discontent and confusion in the country.... In some cases some of the Agents of Obote and other Imperialists and Zionists went to the extent of murdering some prominent Ugandans so that the blame could be put on the Government.... Furthermore those Agents persuaded some prominent innocent citizens of the country to run away so that they are reported as missing and the blame is put on the Government but such people have later been found alive in some countries.[193]

In keeping with this view, the Defence Council (DC), headed by President Amin, claimed that the Chief Justice, B. Kiwanuka, was abducted by three insurgents. The abduction, it asserted, was intended to tarnish the image of the regime. In a similar vein, it claimed that of the 85 prominent people said to have disappeared between January 1971 and January 1973, 6 were alive and living in Uganda, 38 were living abroad, 3 were killed during the invasion carried out by the refugee warriors from Tanzania in September 1972 and the fate of the other 38 was unknown. The DC then concluded that those whose fate was unknown could be presumed dead.[194]

The explanation offered by the DC for the disappearance of thousands of people was not entirely misleading because some of the abductions and murders were the work of the insurgents. For example, a 42-year-old former insurgent from Ankole reported that: "We killed a few prominent politicians who were collaborating with the regime. Our political leaders in Tanzania told us that eliminating these collaborators would force people to isolate Amin and his murderers, and persuade the international community to support our cause."[195] It was also true that some of the politicians who were reported to have disappeared were in exile. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of those who disappeared were murdered by the regime.[196]

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[193] "Statement Relating to the Disappearances of Persons and the Establishment of the Saied Commission." Reproduced in Uganda Government, *Report into the Violations of Human Rights*: appendix 6. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2722C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2722B

[194] *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2722C.

[195] Respondent No. 51, former refugee warrior from Ankole, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992.

[196] Respondents No. 14, three Cabinet Ministers and two high-ranking UPC members, Nakasero, Kampala, December 3, 1984; ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of*

During this period, the only disappearances that attracted considerable international attention were those of white foreigners. For example, when two Americans, Robert Siedle (a lecturer in sociology at Makerere University) and Nicholas Stroh (a freelance journalist working for the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*), disappeared in Mbarara while "investigating" the massacre of some 200 Acoli and Langi in July 1971, the international community pressured the regime to investigate the disappearance of the Americans. Accordingly, the government appointed a British Judge of the Uganda High Court, Justice David Jeffrey Jones, to carry out the task. Immediately after Justice Jones completed his work, he fled the country and then mailed the report to Amin. In the report, Jones concluded that the two Americans were slain by Ugandan soldiers. To contain the crisis of international legitimacy the report generated, the government promised to bring the undisciplined soldiers who murdered the two Americans to justice. It then hastily compensated the families of the deceased.[197]

The Severe Crisis of Legitimacy and the Establishment of an Alternative Court, the Military Tribunal

The government legalized its acts of political violence to systematically eliminate its perceived political opponents and protect itself from being challenged in civil proceedings. It also attempted to avoid possible legal embarrassment by exerting pressure on judges and magistrates to rule against suspected regime challengers. Efforts to influence court rulings also led to the appointment of some supporters of the regime as civil judges and magistrates. The most dramatic and profound strategy the government adopted to address the severe crisis of legitimacy was the establishment of an alternative court, the military tribunal.[198]

Law in Uganda: 39–61; ICJ, *Open Letter to General Amin, Kampala from Wanume Kibedi, former Uganda Foreign Minister (1971–1973)*, especially: 121–167.

[197] See *New York Times*, July 27, 1972: 30; *New York Times*, August 16, 1972: 3; "Uganda, "*Africa Confidential*, 13, 15 (July 28, 1972): n.p., under "People, Projects and Pointers"; ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 34–38.

[198] For a good discussion about repressive violence as a legal phenomenon in existing laws, drafts, proposals and treaties, see C. Van Den Wijingaert, "Repressive Violence: A Legal Perspective," in M. Hoefnagels, ed., *Repression and Repressive Violence*. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1977: 51–3.

A few examples will shed light on how and why regime violence was legalized. On March 17, 1971, the government amended Penal Code Decree and the Armed Forces (Powers of Arrest) Decree. These decrees gave members of the Armed forces and security agents unlimited legal powers to search any house, building, vehicle and aircraft for suspected opponents of the government. They could also arrest and detain any suspected opponent of the regime. The decrees also made "unlawful gatherings" a felony punishable by seven years imprisonment.[199] On May 8, 1972, the government passed another decree: the Proceedings Against the Government (Protection Decree, Decree No. 8). This law provided retroactive legal immunity to the government and security agents:

> Notwithstanding any written or other law, no court shall make any decision, order or grant any remedy, relief in any proceedings against the government or any person acting under the authority of the government in respect of anything done or omitted to be done for the purpose of maintaining public order or public security in any part of Uganda, or for the defence of Uganda or for the enforcement of discipline or law and order or in respect of anything relating to, consequent upon or incidental to any of these purposes, during the period between the 24th day of January 1971 and such date as the president shall appoint....[200]

These unlimited legal powers were expanded by the Detention Decree and Decree suspending political activities in the country.[201]

Judicial political violence was further expanded when the regime established an alternative court, the Military Tribunal (MT), in 1973. The MT was established by the Defence Council under Decree No. 12 of 1973. The decree gave it sweeping powers to try both civilians and soldiers accused of treason. On June 26 and 27, 1973, Amin signed the Security Decrees which empowered the MT to try cases which had always fallen within the competent jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. He also ordered the military to be tough on "subversive elements" and "ordinary criminals."[202] At the time of its creation, the MT was headed by Lieutenant Colonel Juma

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[199] See Government of Uganda, *The First 366 Days*: 1; *Daily Nation*, Thursday, March 18, 1971: 36; *Daily Nation*, Monday, March 22, 1971: 1; Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History:* 275.

[200] Cited in Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 88.

[201] See Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala*: 133.

[202] ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 20–21.

Oris (nicknamed, "Butabika": the most unpopular psychiatric clinic in the country). The other members of the MT were: Captain Sebi Ali (nicknamed: "Kill me Quick"), Captain Fulgyensio K. Byabagambi, Captain Kiharamagara Karugye and Lieutenant Nyati Kabagwire. According to the ICJ, the "presiding officers of the tribunal do not possess even an elementary knowledge of the law; their only qualifications is that they are trusted friends of President Amin and can be relied upon to convict whoever is unfortunate to be taken before them."[203]

The establishment of the alternative court, which coincided with increased insurgencies, and opposition in the army,[204] was intended to address the crisis of legitimacy in three related ways. First, send a clear message to perceived regime challengers that they would not be accorded the "luxury" of legal safeguards. In this instance, rules of procedure and evidence, and the burden and standard of proof would be determined by the regime. The accused would also be denied the "luxury" of representation by legal counsel.[205] Secondly, obtain rulings which would have the desired effects of deterring and possibly eliminating opposition to the legitimacy of the regime. Thirdly, end the growing criticisms that security officers and local administrators were interfering with the independence of the court by demanding the release of their supporters and friends, and demanding the prosecution of their opponents and perceived opponents of the regime.[206]

The first group of people to be tried by the MT were those arrested during the guerrilla activities in early 1973. Most of them were "found" guilty of treason and were taken to their home districts where they were executed by firing squads. The executions took place in the presence of thousands of people, including family members of the primary targets.[207] For instance, on February 10, 1973, an estimated 30,000 people watched the public execution of Badru Semakula in Kampala.[208] Immediately after the execution, a military spokesperson told the nation that the public execution sent a clear message of deterrence to Ugandans: "that involvement in guerrilla activities means loss of life. That is why it was decided that these guerillas be executed by firing squad. Therefore anybody found engaging in guerrilla activities or harbouring guerillas will be headed [*sic*] for real danger."[209] A similar message was echoed the following day by the Commanding Officer of the Second Paratrooper Batallion at Port Fortal. He added that "guerillas had been sent to every district in Uganda yet Chiefs had not reported them. Chiefs would face the same fate as the guerillas if they did not alert the authorities about terrorists."[210] After similar executions in Acoli, Radio Uganda reported a warning issued by the Base Commander of Air Force in Gulu that the local community "would be wiped out if they joined the 'guerillas.'"[211] Likewise in Lango, the District Commissioner conveyed a similar warning: "if need be, the whole parish or Gombolola (an administrative sub-district) would be destroyed if guerillas living there were not reported."[212]

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[203] See ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 23. See also, ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: 63

[204] See ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 20–21; Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Violations of Human Rights*: 162.

[205] See ICJ, Violations *of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 23. See also, ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: 63

[206] ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 22, suggested that "The setting up of military tribunals to try offenses known to the Uganda penel code, with powers to pronounce sentence of death has eroded the powers and prestige of the ordinary courts of law almost to extinction." See also, ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: 63

[207] *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2723A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2723A.

Between August 23 and September 5, 1977, the MT carried out one of its most publicized trials. The trials took place in a public forum at the City Hall in Kampala. A total of 16 people were tried for treason. Out of these, only two people, John Ejura (a proprietor and principal of Aboke High School in Lango) and Apollo Lawoko (controller of programmes, ministry of information), were acquitted. Two other people, John Obimu and Boy Lango, were each sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. The rest, E.N. Mutabazi, Peter Atua, Daniel Nsereko, Leutenant Ben Ogwang, Y. Y. Okot, John Leji Olobo, Elias Okidimenya, Abdallah Anyuru, Ben Ongom, Peter Adupa and Gerisom Onono, were sentenced to death, and were subsequently taken to their home districts to face public executions by firing squad.[213]

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[208] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2759B.

[209] Cited in Ibid.

[210] Cited in Ibid.

[211] Gertzel, "The Politics of Uneven Development": 23.

[212] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1973: 2759BC.

[213] See Uganda Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Violations of Human Rights*: 163.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND REFUGEES IN UGANDA

During this period, there were many refugees in the country (see Table 5.1). The regime and the refugees had very cordial relations. To begin with, the regime needed very loyal and dedicated military officers and security agents. Since it was somewhat skeptical about the loyalty and dedication of Ugandans, it saw the poverty-stricken and insecure refugees as the best candidates for recruitment into the army and security agencies. The refugees, for their part, agreed to serve the regime with undivided loyalty so that they could secure good jobs, acquire wealth and receive security and protection in the country.

Table 5.1 Refugees in Uganda, 1971–1979

Year	*Origin*	*Number*
1971	E. Africa	100
	Rwanda	73,000
	Sudan	75,300
	Zaire	33,600
1972	Rwanda	72,800
	Sudan	59,400
	Zaire	34,300
1973	Rwanda	73,900
	S. Africa	100
	Sudan	5700
	Zaire	34,300
1974	E. Africa	100
	Rwanda	73,900
	Zaire	34,400
1975	Rwanda	78,000
	Zaire	34,500
1976	E. Africa	400
	Rwanda	78,000
	Zaire	34,500
1977	E. Africa	400
	Rwanda	78,000
	Zaire	34,000
1978	E. Africa	400
	Rwanda	78,000
	Zaire	34,000
1979	Rwanda	78,000
	Zaire	34,000

Sources: Various issues of UNHCR, *Refugees;* and USCR, *World Refugee Survey*

Against this background, Amin invited the deposed Umwami of Rwanda, Kigeri IV, to Uganda. The presence of the Umwani and the close ties Amin developed with him encouraged some Rwandese (Tutsi) refugees to join the army and security agencies. Many refugees from southern Sudan and eastern Zaire also joined the army and security agencies. Some of the most prominent refugees from southern Sudan included the Commanding Officer of the Mechanised Brigade, Lieutenant Colonel Sule and the Chief of Military Police, Brigadier Hussein Mulera.[214]

Being loyal and dedicated to the regime meant that the refugees had to terrorize, rape, detain and murder perceived opponents of the regime. Accumulating wealth in the lawless, violent and chronically underdeveloped society also meant that the refugees had to do what almost everyone who acquired wealth and land was doing: unleash terror against segments of the society. The result was that the terrorized and chronically poor Ugandans turned more decidedly against the refugee population. Hostility toward the refugees also escalated because many Ugandans felt that they were being treated as second class citizens in their own country. For example, when some of the Sudanese refugees, who had not repatriated following the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, continued to grab land and terrorize people in East Acoli in 1976 and 1977, the indigenous inhabitants of Mucwini and Madi Opei massacred some of them. This massacre, which highlighted the growing anti-refugee sentiments throughout the country, was carried out with the tacit support of some high-ranking Ugandan soldiers. These soldiers were opposed to the presence of the refugees in the army and security agencies, and the unrestrained brutality of the refugees and the regime.[215]

The regime, in search of elusive legitimacy, also promoted anti-refugee sentiments in the country by publicly blaming the refugees for the prevailing economic and political crisis. For example, in 1978, it blamed refugees from Rwanda, Zaire, Somalia, Kenya, Burundi, Sudan and Ethiopia for the crisis.

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[214] O. Otunnu, “Refugee Movements from the Sudan”: 3–14; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 107–108; E. Nabuguzi, “Refugees and Politics in Uganda.” Paper presented at the Makerere Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, December 20, 1993: 25; Kokole and Mazrui, “Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society”: 268, 274.

[215] Respondents No. 36, two former UA officers from Ajumani, Kibera, Nairobi, July 4, 1992; Respondents No. 52, three former UA officers who were opposed to the presence of the refugees in the army and other security agencies, conversation with author, Arua, September 27, 1985. For a discussion about the Addis Ababa Agreement, see Zolberg, Shurke and Aguayo, *Escape from Violence*: 52–3.

The refugees were then ordered to register with the government, remain confined to designated camps and refrain from supporting insurgency activities.[216] The orders were never carried out because the pronouncements were intended to achieve a number of related objectives: to suggest to the majority of Ugandans that the regime shared their disapproval of the brutality of the refugees, erroneously implying that the regime was not the principal author of the terror the refugees unleashed on the country; to provide a popular and vulnerable scapegoat that could be blamed for the severe socio-economic and political crisis in the country, thereby allowing the refugees to join the long lists of individuals and groups that were being blamed for the crisis; to prevent the refugees from employing unsanctioned terror against the population; and to maintain contact with, and receive international assistance from, the international community through agencies, such as the UNHCR, Oxfam, YMCA, the Red Cross and the International University Exchange Fund. These contacts and assistance were particularly important because the regime faced a severe economic crisis at home and a profound legitimation deficit on the international front.[217]

Political Violence and Ugandan Refugees

While the country hosted many refugees from neighboring countries, it also generated many refugees (see Table 5.2). The number of refugees the regime generated, however, was not proportional to the intensity and

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[216] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1978: 4705C; *New York Times*, January, 1, 1978: 6.

[217] Respondents No. 35, four NRA officers (former UA officers), Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 36, two former UA officers from Ajumani, Kibera, Nairobi, July 4, 1992; Respondents No. 52, three former UA officers, Arua, September 27, 1985; Respondents No. 53, two Ugandan refugees from West Nile, conversation with author, Toronto, July 24, 1995. For the various assistance that the international organizations and agencies provided, see International University Exchange Fund, "Project No. 71/72 LS UGA. 8 (A): Agreement between UNHCR and IORD. Nairobi, February 28, 1978," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); Jimmy, "Transfer of Refugees—Uganda. TFB/JB No. 72/7. Kampala, January 8, 1972," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); T. B. Betts, "Evaluation of Sites Proposed for Resettlement of Refugees: Report Prepared for Uganda Government by Special UNDP/FAO/WHO Mission., February 1972. Nairobi, March 28, 1972," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University); "Agreement between the Uganda Government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Project No. 71–72/LS/UGA. 8(A)," (deposited at the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University).

Table 5.2 Uganda refugees, 1972–1979

Year	*Asylum*	*Number*
[a]1972	Britain, Canada, USA, Switzerland, Brazil, Austria, etc.	23,242
1973	India	1500
	Tanzania	1000
1974	Tanzania	2270
1975	Tanzania	2400
	UAE	1000
1976	Kenya	1801
	Tanzania	2200
	UAE	2000
1977	Kenya	5400
	Lesotho	20
	Tanzania	3700
	UAE	2000
	Zaire	40
	Zambia	550
1978	Kenya	4600
	Tanzania	4100
1979	Kenya	3500

Sources: Various issues of UNHCR, *Refugees* and USCR, *World Refugee Survey*

[a] This figure is derived from Uganda Government, *The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 486. According to the government, there were 23,242 Asians who were citizens of Uganda in 1971

duration of political violence and instability in the country. For example, while tens of thousands of Acoli and Langi were murdered, and political instability persisted from 1971 to 1979, only a few people fled the country.[218] A number of factors accounted for the discrepancy. First, the 1972 Addis Ababa Peace Agreement, that ended the war in southern Sudan, improved relations between Kampala and Khartoum so much that those Ugandans who were most affected by the regime violence, the Acoli and Langi, could not flee to the nearest country, Sudan. Furthermore, the presence of southern Sudanese in the Uganda army and security agencies suggested to the two ethnic groups that they would not be welcomed in southern Sudan. Indeed, some Acoli and Langi refugees who sought asylum in southern Sudan were forced back or fled to a third country of asylum.[219]

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[218] For an analysis of factors that affect refugee movements in Africa, see O. Otunnu, "Refugee Movements from the Sudan": 7–15. R. Winter, "Peace and Human Rights in Uganda: The Past, Present and Future," in USCR, *Three papers Presented before the Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights*: 39, however, suggested that the number of refugees is a barometer of violence, gross violations of human rights abuse and genocide. This assumption presupposes that people facing persecution are free to flee their homelands. In the case of Uganda, which was the focus of Winter's work, his assumptions and assertion are inaccurate.

Secondly, the policy of "divide and rule" and "selective elimination" that the regime employed until February 1977 effectively discouraged mass migrations. For example, a 64-year-old Acoli refugee suggested that: "Although Amin killed many Acoli and Langi, he did it gradually. This explains why most of our people did not flee. Do you not see that when Museveni began to kill us indiscriminately hundreds of thousands of our people fled to southern Sudan?"[220]

Thirdly, most of those who fled the country settled spontaneously. This meant that most of the refugees did not register with the UNHCR and the host governments. Their unwillingness to register was based on the fear that whatever information was required for registration would be sent back to the Uganda government and would be used against their relatives at home. The decision was also based on the fact the refugee camps had become death traps, without freedom of movement, personal safety and other basic human needs.[221] Finally, the government barred unauthorized travel from the country and tightened security along the main flight route: Uganda-Kenya border.[222]

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[219] Respondents No. 54, three Acoli refugees who trekked from southern Sudan to Kenya in 1974, interview by author, London, August 17, 1995. Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military*: 104, suggested that hundreds of Acoli and Langi who fled to southern Sudan were handed over to the government by southern Sudanese.

[220] Respondent No. 55, Acoli who was a refugee in Kenya in the 1970s and became a refugee in southern Sudan in 1987, interview by author, London, July 5, 1992. The perspective put forward by the Acoli refugee needs to be adjusted by pointing out that many Acoli were able to flee to southern Sudan when Museveni seized power because the flight route was not sealed off. The political violence he referred to during Museveni's rule is documented by many human rights organizations. For a start, see Amnesty International, *Uganda: the Failure to Safe Guard Human Rights*. London: Amnesty, September, 1992, especially: 10–81; *Uganda, Death in the Countryside: Killings of Civilians by the Army in 1990*. London (December 1990); Uganda Law Society, *Matters of Concern to Uganda Law Society*. Kampala (April 9, 1990): 1–11; The Association of the Bar of New York, *Uganda at the Crossroads: A Report on Current Human Rights Conditions*. New York: the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (July 1991), especially: 29–42.

[221] Respondents No. 56, two former Ugandan refugees who taught in Swaziland in the 1970s, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992.

The majority of Ugandan refugees were highly trained professionals: medical doctors, professors, teachers, nurses, engineers and civil servants. The rest comprised university and high school students, former military officers and peasants. The flight of these people, therefore, exacerbated the acute shortage of qualified and skilled labor in the economy, schools, hospitals and the civil service.[223]

The government responded to the crisis caused by the out-migration of skilled labor by recruiting expatriates from Pakistan, India, Ghana and Egypt.[224] It also signed a decree in January 1973 which restricted those who received post-secondary education in the country from seeking private employment. Those affected by the decree were required to work for the government for at least three years. The penalty for breaking the law was 10,000 shillings.[225] While the decree barred new school leavers from joining the official private sector, which was essentially non-existent, it encouraged them to join the unofficial private sector: the *magendo* economy. The decree was reinforced by drastically curtailing the rights of Ugandans to leave the country. In this instance, the regime that had denied the Ugandan-Asians the right to remain in the country was now denying indigenous Ugandans the right to flee persecution and seek asylum in another country. Another strategy the government employed to address the crisis was to “grant” amnesty to Ugandan exiles. However, the strategy failed because Ugandan refugees believed that the amnesty was a political ploy. Furthermore, many Ugandan refugees received better pay in relatively stable countries. This did not mean that the relative comfort the refugees enjoyed in exile compensated the loss of being in their homeland with their own people.[226]

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[222] Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 21.

[223] Peter Oloo, former education officer with the Joint Refugee Services of Kenya (JRSK), interview by author, Nairobi, July 2, 1992; A. G. G. Ginyera-Pinycwa, “Problems in the return and Repatriations of Ugandan Exiles.” Paper presented at Makerere Institute of Social Research, December 20, 1993: 9–12.

[224] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: 2722A; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*: 308.

[225] *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1973: .2722AB.

[226] See Ginyera-Pinycwa, “Problems in the Return and Repatriations of Ugandan Exiles”: 11–13. For some useful perspectives on the right to leave and the right to stay, see A. Dowty, *Closed Borders*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, especially: 10–17; W. G. Plaut, *Asylum: A Moral Dilemma*. Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1995: 81–2, 88–90.

Repression of the Press

Immediately after Amin took over power, he was hailed by both the local and international anti-Obote press as a liberator, a reformer, a trustworthy leader and a friend. For example, *The Daily Telegraph* of January 26, 1971, suggested that it might be a good idea to hold the Commonwealth conferences more often so that many more friendly leaders like Amin could assume power in their countries. In its issue of January 29, 1971, it further maintained that the presence of Amin in power would make it easier for Britain to pursue its strategic interests in the region. In a similar vein, *The Financial Times* voted Amin "Man of the Week." *The Guardian* and *The Times* (London) painted a similar image of Amin and his regime after the coup.[227]

After the expulsion of the Asians in 1972, the local press continued to promote Amin as a liberator, a nationalist and a friend of indigenous Ugandans. However, the British-based international press grudgingly began to present him as a racist. This change of position was propelled more by the fact that the responsibility of resettling the Asians fell on Britain than by the fact that the rights of the Asians were violated by the expulsion. Indeed, if the press was concerned about human rights it would have blamed the British government for its racist policy toward British-Asians as much as it blamed the Amin regime. Furthermore, if the press was concerned about human rights it would not have hailed Amin as a liberator when the regime had massacred tens of thousands of Acoli and Langi.[228]

With respect to the local press, relations with the regime became somewhat strained following the disappearances of some prominent Baganda and supporters of the DP, including Benedicto Kiwanuka.[229] In fact, a section of the local press, especially those funded by the Catholic Church and the DP, joined the foreign press in condemning very specific acts of political violence directed against its interests. The regime responded by abducting, harassing and detaining some of the journalists. It also amended the Newspaper and Publication Decree on December 18, 1972. The Decree gave the government legal powers to prohibit indefinitely any publication that was deemed a threat to national security and national interests. The government also censored other forms of expression such as motion pictures, books, journals and magazines that were perceived to promote immorality and undermine the image of the country. For example, in 1972, the government enforced the Suppression of Immorality Decree which banned certain motion pictures. This wave of repression forced the "unfriendly" local press to choose between staying in business and disappearing. In the end, it chose the former. This meant that it had to circulate news and information which promoted a positive image of the government. [230]

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[227] Cited in Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military*: 99.

[228] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, former Minister of Information, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992. Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee:* 33, made a similar observation with reference to how the Asians viewed their plights: "From their point of view, there was no difference between a government that was determined to get rid of one race among its citizens (the Uganda Asians) and a government that was just as determined to keep out of its borders the same racial category of citizens (the British Asians)."

[229] According to ICJ, *Violations of Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Uganda*: 45, Benedicto Kiwanuka was arrested by the army on September 21, 1972.

In an attempt to address the severe crisis of legitimacy, the regime effectively used the official state media to promote its image and policies at home and abroad. In fact, the regime became so concerned about its international image and legitimacy that it acquired a very powerful radio transmitter to transmit its views directly to various countries in Africa, Europe, North America and the Far East. It also acquired a mobile radio transmitter which President Amin used quite effectively from any part of the country. This strategy was reinforced by the recruitment of some reporters, media consultants, public relations consultants, scholars, civil servants and human rights activists to invent and promote a positive image of the government at home and abroad. These employees of the regime were also required to counter what the government considered to be hostile and distorted news and information.[231]

However, the effectiveness of this policy on the international scene was undermined when Anti-Amin coverage dominated the British media. The result was that the government banned most of the foreign newspapers from the country on June 8, 1974. Some of the papers which were banned were: the *Observer*, *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sunday Express, News of the World*, *The Times*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sunday Mirror* (UK), *The East African Standard*, *Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *Sunday Post* (Kenya).[232] This measure, however, had unintended consequences: it further tarnished the image of the government, increased its crisis of legitimacy abroad and forced the international media to circulate very sensational and largely inaccurate information about the government.[233]

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[230] Ibid; Ravenhill, "Military Rule in Uganda": 255, 257; Obbo, *African Women:* 11.

[231] Dr. Ojok Mulozi, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1974: 3271C.

[232] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1974: 3271C.

As the international media, led by the same British-based media that had worked quite hard to promote Amin, presented the government and its policies in very negative terms, Amin threatened to close down the British High Commission and expel some 1500 British citizens from the country. This threat, the government insisted, would only be withdrawn if the British government and the British media, especially the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), halted their unfounded propaganda against Uganda. The British media, however, continued with its negative coverage of the regime partly because the British government could not control the media.[234]

War against and with the Church

As anti-regime violence increased in November 1972, President Amin expelled 58 European Christian missionaries from the country. According to him, those expelled were illegally in the country, spying for imperialists, and had been sponsoring anti-regime activities. He then told white missionaries, including 1293 Roman Catholics, 95 Protestants and 67 belonging to other denominations, that they would be asked to leave the country to speed up the Africanization of Christian organizations in the country. These actions prompted the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Cardinal E. Nsubuga, to appeal to the President to reverse his decision. However, Amin attempted to destroy the credibility of the Cardinal by accusing him of collaborating with imperialists and insurgents to destabilize and recolonize the country and the continent.[235]

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[233] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1974: 3271C–3272A; “President Amin and the Press,” *Africa Confidential*, 16, 24 (December 5, 1975): n.p., under “People, Projects and Pointers.”

[234] *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1974: 3271A–C; ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: ix; Dr. Ojok Mulozi, former Minister of Information, telephone conversation with author, August 27, 1992. For information about the support that Britain provided to anti-Amin forces, see D. Owen, *Time to Declare*. London: Michael Joseph, 1991: 274.

[235] See *New York Times*, December 3, 1972: 2. See also, “Cardinal Nsubuga Warns Government,” *The Star*, Kampala, 3, 134, Wednesday, February 1985: 2.

By the beginning of 1973, much tension had developed between the government and a number of Christian evangelical denominations. Two main factors accounted for this development. First, the regime had sought to enhance its legitimacy by consulting with and providing financial assistance only to the major Christian denominations: the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church.[236] This strategy alienated the more radical and "anti-hegemonic" Christian congregations. The more these groups felt alienated, the more they challenged the legitimacy of the regime. Secondly, hundreds of thousands of Christians turned to the congregations because the major denominations had not only failed to challenge the regime for the ensuing political violence and the severe economic dislocation but were also still reminding their followers to renew their loyalty and obedience to the state and the incumbents. For example, Mamdani reported that in a memorandum from the Church of Uganda to Amin in 1974, the church pledged its adherence to Romans 13: 1–5: "Everyone must obey state authorities, because no authority exists without God's permission, and the existing authorities have been put there by God. Whoever opposes the existing authority opposes what God had ordered; and anyone who does so will bring judgment on himself. For rulers are not to be feared by those who do good, but by those who do evil…"[237] Such a message, which was consistent with those that the Christian churches had offered for every regime since the colonial period, allowed other Christian congregations to become the only channels of expressing popular discontent in the country. As the congregations gained more following, they became more anti-hegemonic and more critical of the regime.[238]

On June 8, 1973, for example, the government responded to the challenge to its legitimacy by outlawing the following groups: the United Pentecostal Church, the Elim Pentecostal Fellowship of Uganda, Pentecostal Assembly of God, the Uganda Church of Christ, Campus Crusade for Christ, International Bible Students Association, Navigators of Colorado, the Uganda East Africa Yearly Meeting (Quakers), Child Evangelism Fellowship of Uganda, Emmanus Bible School, Legio Maria of Africa and the Jehovah's Witness. The regime offered two related reasons for its repressive action: that the activities of these congregations were a threat to national stability and national security; and that they were actively spying for groups opposed to the government.[239]

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[236] See Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 54; Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*: 111; Kokole and Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society": 275.

[237] Romans Chapter 13: 1–4. Information about the memorandum is in Mamdani, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*: 54.

[238] Respondent No. 67, Anglican Bishop, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992.

The banning of the Christian congregations, however, generated unexpected problems for the government. First, it prompted international supporters of the groups to denounce the regime as anti-Christian and to mobilize international support and funds to topple the government. The more they mobilized support against the regime, the more the regime regarded Christian organizations as its opponents—thus reinforcing the false image that the regime was anti-Christian and the false image that the Christians were anti-regime. Secondly, it forced local supporters of the congregations to go underground and support armed opposition to the regime. Thirdly, it forced the two main Christian churches, the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church—that had become increasingly irrelevant to their followers—to rehabilitate themselves by responding to the aspirations and needs of millions of oppressed Christians. More than any other factor, it was the severe crisis of legitimacy the two churches faced that forced them to embrace and express the popular discontent in the society. The radicalization of the two churches also resulted from the visible presence of those Christians who joined the churches after the banning of the popular congregations. Finally, it forced the opponents of the regime, who had worked almost exclusively through the congregations, to infiltrate and use the two main denominations to undermine the legitimacy of the government. Since some church goers, including some church ministers, were government supporters and informers, and the presence of perceived opponents of the regime in the two denominations alarmed the government.[240]

The increased radicalization of the two denominations coincided with the growing economic crisis that ravaged many developing countries, Uganda included. It also coincided with increased political violence in the country. These developments forced the government to become more repressive. The increased repression led to the marginalization of the two main Christian denominations. By 1976, the Christian churches had become so marginalized that Islam, which was closely allied to the regime, acquired the appearance of an official religion of the state, thereby reproducing the false image of the ensuing crisis as that between the Christians and the Moslems.[241]

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[239] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1973: 2889AB.

[240] Respondent No. 67, Anglican Bishop, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992.

The conflict between the Christian churches and the regime led to open violence on February 5, 1977. On that day, security agents ransacked the residence of the Anglican Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Boga-Zaire, Janani Luwum. According to the government, this action was justified because the Archbishop had conspired to overthrow the regime. The following day, security officers carried out a similar operation at the residence of the Bishop of Bukedi Diocese and a close friend of Obote, Yona Okoth. These incidents provoked an outcry from leaders of the two denominations. For example, on February 10, 1977, the House of the Anglican Bishops sent an open letter to President Amin condemning gross violations of human rights and mistreatment of church leaders and Christians by the government:

> The gun whose muzzle has been pressed against the Archbishop's stomach, the gun which has been used to search the Bishop of Bukedi's house, is the gun which is being pointed at every Christian in the church … we have buried many who have died as a result of being shot and there are many more whose bodies have not been found, yet their disappearance is connected with the activities of some members of the security forces.... The gun which was meant to protect Uganda as a nation, the Ugandan as a citizen and his [*sic*] property, is increasingly being used against the Ugandan to take away his life and his property.[242]

The church leaders further pointed out that: "Many cars almost daily are being taken at gunpoint and their owners killed, and most of the culprits are never brought to justice. If required we can enumerate many cases. Too much power has been given to members of State Research to arrest and kill at will innocent individuals."[243]

The regime responded on February 14, 1977, by publicly accusing Archbishop Luwum and Bishop Okoth of conspiring with the insurgents, Israel, Tanzania, Britain and the USA to overthrow the government. Two days later, Archbishop Luwum, Charles Oboth-Ofumbi (the Minister of Internal Affairs) and Lieutenant Colonel Erinayo Wilson Oryema (the

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[241] Ibid; ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: xiii.

[242] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4330A. See also, ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: xii–xiv.

[243] Cited in ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: xiv.

Minister of Land and Water Resources) were arrested and paraded before the media and the public as insurgents. To support its case against the accused, the regime produced a large cache of arms and ammunition which it claimed had been found at the residences of the accused. A few hours later, the government announced that the three men had died in a motor accident.[244]

The "accidental" death of the three was so poorly planned and executed that attempts to disguise it as an accident did not convince many observers. More importantly, the "accident" sent a chilling message to the nation: anybody who opposes the regime, including the highest church leader and prominent government ministers, will be eliminated. This message sent thousands of Christians fleeing the country (see Table 2). This time, refugees originated from every corner of the country. The assassination of the Archbishop, accompanied by increased regime violence throughout the country, also forced some of the strongest supporters of the regime from Buganda, Busoga, Ankole and West Nile to withdraw their support. From that moment, the government became extremely unpopular throughout the country. Faced with this unprecedented crisis of legitimacy, the government escalated its violence to a level that had never been experienced in the six years of its rule.[245]

As the despotic power of the state increased, its infrastructural powers decreased. The despotic power of the state increased because it faced unprecedented crisis of legitimacy. The state faced unprecedented crisis of legitimacy because it was closely wedded to a regime that had become extremely unpopular. The unpopularity of the regime, therefore, became the unpopularity of the state. The state also faced a profound crisis of legitimacy because it had become a major threat to the security and survival of the bulk of the population. The infrastructural power of the state, on the other hand, decreased because the state failed to control its agents who were expected to control the society. The severe economic and political crises that destroyed the institutions of the state also accounted for the infrastructural weakness of the state.

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[244] See Ibid; *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977 : 4329AB; *New York Times*, February 17, 1977: 6; *New York Times*, February 18, 1977: 1; February 18, 1977: 4.

[245] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4329B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1977: 4398B; Ginyera-Pinycwa, "Problems in the Return and Repatriation of Ugandan Exiles": 10.

The situation further deteriorated for the regime because the assassination of the Archbishop generated unprecedented international crisis of legitimacy for the government.[246] For example, the General-Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), Canon Burgess Carr, condemned the assassination as an example of the gross violations of human rights that had taken place in the country in the past six years. He also claimed that the objective of the regime violence was to silence and eliminate Christians in the country. Based on his interpretation of the nature and objective of the crisis in Uganda, he appealed to Christians throughout the world to isolate and bring down the regime.[247] The World Council of Churches (WCC) added that the international community had a moral duty to punish the government for the gross violations of human rights. Similar condemnations and appeals came from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, the Director of the Episcopal Church World Mission, Rev. Samuel Van Culin, and the Vatican.[248] One of the strongest attacks on the legitimacy of the regime came from the Anglican Bishops of Kenya. In their joint statement, signed by Archbishop Festo Olang and six bishops, the church leaders condemned the UN, the UN Commission for Human Rights and the OAU for deliberately ignoring the massacre of tens of thousands of innocent Ugandans for six long years. They then called for a humanitarian intervention to protect human rights in Uganda.[249]

Throughout this period of intense crisis, Christian organizations defined the crisis in Uganda exclusively in religious terms: Islam versus Christianity. This definition was dangerously inaccurate because there were still many Christians, including military officers, cabinet ministers and church leaders, who were supporting Amin. Similarly, there were many Moslems, including military officers, who had been killed because of their opposition to the regime. There were even more Moslems who were still opposed to the regime. This is not to suggest that Islam had not risen to a position of dominance in the country. Rather, the explanation of the political violence largely in terms of Christianity versus Islam was superficial and dangerously misleading.[250]

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[246] Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report, 1979*: 37, for example, noted that: "The actions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to which Amnesty made further communications during the year, had little noticeable effect. The turning point was probably the political murder of the Archbishop of Uganda in February 1977. This led to the regime's diplomatic isolation, increasing international awareness of cruelty and economic chaos, and the organized opposition of exiles."

[247] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4329B, 4331C; ICJ, *Uganda Human Right*s: xiv; *New York Times*, 19, 1977: 3.

[248] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4329B; *New York Times,* February 20, 1977: 3; *New York Times*, February 22, 1977: 3.

[249] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4330C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1977: 4364AB; New *York Times*, February 21, 1977: 2.

Another unintended effect of defining the crisis exclusively in religious terms was that it legitimized the strategy Amin adopted in 1977 to address the severe crisis of legitimacy that confronted him and his regime: suggest to the Moslems that opposition against him was primarily opposition to Islam. For example, when a prominent Moslem and former member of the SRB, Musa Kaloddo, was murdered by the insurgents in November 1977, Amin presented the incident as part of a plot against Islam. Accordingly, an estimated 1000 Catholics from near where the incident had taken place in Masaka were arrested and tortured. Thereafter, four white Canadian Catholic missionaries were expelled from the country ostensibly for having taken part in the murder.[251] Having presented opposition to his regime as opposition to Islam, Amin obtained more financial support from Libya and other Arab states. He then reinforced his survival strategy by introducing Arabic as one of the official languages on Radio Uganda and Uganda Television in February 1978. During this period, Uganda joined the Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC). This strategy, further enhanced by declaring Friday a public holiday, reproduced the false impression that Uganda had become an Islamic state. While this image allowed the regime to benefit from the Muslim and Arab-led Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) at a time of increased economic crisis in developing countries, it also rallied Christians organizations against the regime.[252]

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[250] See Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History:* 269–270, 283; “The Christian Voice,” *Africa Confidential*, 19, 4 (February 17, 1978): 5; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1974: 3435C–3436B; “Uganda: Amin’s Army,” *Africa Confidential*, 15, 23 (November 22, 1974): 1–2; *New York Times*, June 13, 1976: 7; *New York Times*, June 13, 1976: 2; Kokole and Mazrui, “Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society,”: 274–276.

[251] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1977: 4638BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1978: 4785AB. According to Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report, 1978*: 90, 350, Roman Catholics who were arrested in November were killed. Amnesty International, Ibid: 54, also suggested that many Roman Catholics who were arrested by security officers from Masaka in April 1978 disappeared.

[252] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* January 1–31, 1978: 4729; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1978: 4803; Jorgensen, *Uganda: A Modern History*: 303–307; Kokole and Mazrui, “Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society,”: 274–276.

Christian organizations, including those in the Austria, Britain, Canada, Sweden and the USA, exerted pressure on their home governments to condemn, isolate and punish the government for gross violations of human rights.[253] Although these states condemned the regime for the atrocities, they continued to do business with it and, in some instances, to train and arm the death squads. As if international indifference to gross violations of human rights in Uganda was not bad enough, the international community allowed Uganda to sit on the UN Commission for Human Rights.[254] The presence of Uganda on the Commission highlighted the insignificance of human rights in international relations during this period of Cold War politics. Indeed, it was only when the regime was already disintegrating due to internal factionalism in the army and the popular discontent that stemmed from the murder of the Archbishop Luwum, for example, that President Jimmy Carter reluctantly imposed a mandatory trade embargo on Uganda's coffee in October 1978.[255]

Crisis of Legitimacy in the Army

The first major crisis of legitimacy the regime faced after eliminating many Acoli, Langi and Etesot from the army was in 1973. During that period, a faction of the military, led by some Lugbara, Madi and Alur military officers, attempted to end the ensuing political violence and instability by plotting to overthrow the government. This plot was crushed and its leaders, including Colonel Toko (Commander of the Air Force), Lieutenant

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[253] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1977: 4366A; "Uganda: Exile activity," *Africa Confidential*, 18, 12 (June 10, 1977): 4–5.

[254] See Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report, 1977*: 109–111; *Amnesty International Report, 1979*: 37; *New York Times*, February 7, 1977: 9. A. M. Obote, "Human Rights and Multi-Party System of Governance: Letter to Members of the Paris Club. Lusaka, Zambia, May 1, 1993": 11–16, suggested that Amnesty International and other human rights organizations did not prepare any report worth mentioning on violations of human rights during Amin's rule.

[255] See *New York Times*, October 13, 1978: 11; *New York Times*, October 14, 1978: 32; *Africa Research Bulletin,* June 1–30, 1978: 4889C; *New York Times*, June 14, 1978: 12; *New York Times*, July 29, 1978: 33; *New York Times*, August 4, 1978: 26; *New York Times*, August 6, 1978: 44; ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*, 1977; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1974: 3270C–3271A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1977: 4434C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1977: 4366A; *Africa Research Bulletin,* December 1–31, 1977: 4678B–4679C; 7 New *York Times*, December 8, 1977: 16; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1977: 4638C–4639C.

Colonel Toloko (General Headquarters Commander), Lieutenant Colonel Bunyenyezi (Commander of the Paratroopers School), Lieutenant Colonel Musa (Commander of the Malire Mechanised Specialist Reconnaissance) and Major Baker (Armed Forces Chief Signals), were sent on forced leave on July 3, 1973.[256]

In February 1974, news of another plot in the army led to the elimination of some Lugbara and Kakwa officers, including Lieutenant Colonel Obitre-Gama (Lugbara) and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Colonel Micheal Ondoga (Kakwa).[257] The purge, however, increased anti-regime sentiment in the army. For instance, at the beginning of March 1974, two attempted coups were carried out by a section of the army. After they had been crushed, 30 soldiers were executed for their involvement in the attempted coups. On March 23 and 24, 1974, another abortive coup was carried out in Kampala. This was led by another Kakwa and a Catholic, Brigadier Charles Arube. He was assisted by Lieutenant Colonel Eli. The coup was crushed and many soldiers, including Brigadier Arube, were killed.[258]

The continuous challenge to Amin's legitimacy by some Kakwa, Lugbara, Madi and indigenous Nubians prompted Amin to rely almost exclusively on refugee mercenaries from southern Sudan (Nubians and ex-Anya-Nya), Zaire and Rwanda. The increased presence of the Nubian mercenaries, however, caused a major division within the Nubian community, both in the army and elsewhere in the country. For example, the indigenous Nubians, especially those from Bombo, Gulu and Kitgum, resented the ruthlessness of the mercenary Nubians.[259]

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[256] See "Uganda: Rumblings," *Africa Confidential*, 13, 13 (June 30, 1972): 3–4; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1973: 2919AB; *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1973: 3079C; Jorgensen, *Uganda*: *A Modern History*: 278; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1973: 2958C.

[257] *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1974: 3176A–3177C.

[258] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1974: 3176A–3177A; "Uganda: Nubians and Southern Sudanese," *Africa Confidential*, 15, 9 (May 3, 1974): 1–2; Kakole and Mazrui, "Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society": 275.

[259] Respondents No. 29, ten Sudanese refugees, ACROSS, Nairobi; Respondents No. 35, four NRA officers (former UA officers) from Arua, interview by author, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 52, three former UA officers, Arua, September 27, 1985; Respondents No. 53, two refugees from West Nile, Toronto, July 24, 1995; "Uganda: Nubians and Southern Sudanese," *Africa Confidential*, 15, 9 (May 3, 1974): 1–2. Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report, 1979:* 39, also pointed out that a segment of the army was quite opposed to the presence and dominance of foreign Nubians in the army.

Between November 8 and 27, 1974, Amin faced another major opposition from some Lugbara soldiers. This opposition began at Mbuya military barracks in Kampala and spread to many military units throughout the country. The incident was a protest against the elimination of a number of high-ranking Lugbara officers, including the Commander of the Mechanised Suicide Battalion in Mbarara, Lieutenant Colonel Baker Tretre. By the time the uprising was put down by the Special Commando Division, some 15 soldiers had been killed, and an unspecified number of Lugbara had deserted the army.[260]

During this period, the government also faced opposition from the police. For example, in April 1976, the police protested against the brutality and total disregard for the rule of law by the death squads. The government responded by dismissing a number of police officers, including the Commissioner of Police, Gabriel Odira. To deter any challenge to its most loyal security agency, the death squads, the government appointed the head of the notorious Police Safety Unit and a Lango, M.K. Obura, to be in charge of the police.[261]

While the purge suppressed dissent and opposition from the bulk of the police, it also forced some members of the police to ally with the insurgents and a section of the aggrieved army. This alliance led to an abortive assassination attempt on the life of President Amin on June 10, 1976, during a passing-out parade at the Police College in Kampala. It was reported that at least 10 people were killed, 37 seriously injured and an estimated 2000 arrested during the incident.[262] Rather than admit that the assassination attempt was the work of a section of the army and police, in collaboration with the insurgents, the government blamed the public and the insurgents for it. For example, the Vice-President, Major General Mustapha Adrisi, warned that "the armed forces would teach the country a lesson it would never forget if anybody tried again to assassinate President Amin." He went on to suggest that, if President Amin had not restrained the soldiers after the attempted assassination, "the public would have realised what a military government could be like."[263]

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[260] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1974: 3435C–3436B; "Uganda: Amin's Army," *Africa Confidential*, 15, 23 (November 22, 1974): 1–2.

[261] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1976: 3999B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1976: 4028A–4029D.

[262] See *New York Times*, June 13, 1976: 7; *New York Times*, June 14, 1976: 2; *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1976: 4064A–C.

Increased violence in the army and elsewhere in the country prompted a section of high-ranking military officers to appeal to Amin to hand over power to a civilian administration. When this was rejected, the officers organized a revolt in August 1976. The timing of the revolt was partly influenced by the humiliation the army suffered during the Israeli raid at Entebbe. However, the revolt was crushed and many of the officers who had been implicated in the revolt were eliminated.[264] The elimination of these officers, however, led to another plot to overthrow the government. This took place in January and February 1977. Again, the plot was crushed. Thereafter, Amin became President for life.[265]

The most serious challenge to Amin's legitimacy in the army came from a very powerful group of officers led by Major General Mustafa (Vice-President) and Maliyamungu. This group had demanded that Amin punish some members of the death squads for the anarchy or step down from power. When the demand was not met, it began to plot a coup. However, the plot was uncovered. Amin then staged a motor accident to eliminate Mustafa. Luckily for Mustafa, he was only crippled in the accident. This gave Amin the opportunity to send Mustafa to Cairo for medical treatment in April 1978.[266] While Mustafa was away, some of the ministers who were closely associated with him, including Brigadier Moses Ali (the Minister of Finance), General I. Lumago (Minister of Defence and Army Chief of Staff) and Lieutenant Colonel Onaah (Minister of Tourism and Wildlife), were dismissed from the cabinet. The dismissal of these ministers, compounded by the escalating political violence in the country, sparked off a country-wide mutiny in October 1978.[267]

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[263] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1976: 4064A–C. See also, *Africa Research Bulletin*, June 1–30, 1976: 4064C.

[264] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1976: 4129A–B; *New York Time*s, August 2, 1976: 4; *Africa Research Bulletin* , November 1–30, 1976: 4242B–C; *Africa Research Bulletin,* August 1–31, 1976: 4129B; Tumusiime, ed.,*Uganda 30 Years, 1962–1992*: 13.

[265] *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1977: 4328C; *New York Times*, June 26, 1976: 5; Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 79; ICJ, *Uganda Human Rights*: xiv.

[266] *Africa Research Bulletin,* April 1–30, 1978: 4825AB; *New York Times*, April 25, 1978: 4; "Uganda: Soldier after Soldier," *Africa Confidential*, 19, 19 (September 22, 1978): 5–6.

[267] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* May 1–31, 1978: 4844C–4845B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, July 1–31, 1978: 4921AB; "Uganda: Soldier after Soldier," *Africa Confidential:* 5–6; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda:* 12–4.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE REGIME, 1978 TO 1979

As opposition to the regime grew toward the end of 1977, the government tried desperately to regain some support in the country and abroad. For example, from January 16 to January 20, 1978, it organized a national forum to discuss the political and economic situation in the country. The forum brought together some 1000 delegates from every group in the country: government ministers, governors, Uganda's ambassadors and high commissioners, district commissioners, permanent secretaries, mayors, chiefs, elders, heads of parastatal bodies, businessmen and businesswomen, traders, teachers, students, workers, peasants, military officers and religious leaders.[268] On January 25, 1978, the government reinforced this strategy by calling for peace, national reconciliation and national unity.[269] On April 3, 1978, it promised to set up a Human Rights Committee to monitor human rights in the country and work closely with the UN Human Rights Commission.[270]

These attempts to win some support and control the society, however, did not persuade the insurgents to discontinue their armed struggle. In fact, the insurgents assassinated many more supporters of the regime during this period. For example, they ambushed and killed a former security officer, Ramatham Biryabikawa, his mother, wife and two children on Kampala-Masaka road. They also assassinated four members of the State Research Bureau in Kampala and killed some government officials in Mbarara.[271] Thus, Obote told the press in London on February 28, 1978, that the underground resistance cells had assassinated "some of Amin's notorious killers."[272]

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[268] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1978: 4711C–4712C; "Uganda," *Africa Confidential*, 19, 2 (June 20, 1978): n.p., under "Pointers."

[269] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1978: 4712BC.

[270] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1978: 4825C; Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report, 1978*: 90.

[271] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1–31, 1977: 4434C–4435A.

[272] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1978: 4752BC; Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 22; See also, Ingham, *Obote*: 149; See *Africa Research Bulletin* , June 1–30, 1977: 4470A–C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, August 1–31, 1977: 4537A; *Africa Research Bulletin* , October 1–31, 1977: 4612; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1977: 4331C–4332B, 4364B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1977: 4364BC; *Africa Research Bulletin,* March 1–31, 1977: 4365C–4367A; *Africa Research Bulletin,* February 1–28,1978: 4328BC; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1978: 4785B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1978: 4825BC.

In late October 1978, war broke out between Uganda and Tanzania. There is no agreement on who instigated the war and why.[273] What is not in dispute is that the long-running hostility between the two neighboring countries finally led to a total war in late October, 1978. Also, both parties to the conflict had compelling reasons to invade each other's territory and at the same time deny doing so.[274] When the war broke out, Uganda Air Force bombed Tanzania's town of Bukoba on October 25, 1978. This was followed by the capture of a portion of Kagera province by some 3000 heavily armed Ugandan troops. On November 1, 1978, the government announced that it had flushed out the Tanzanian troops that had occupied 400 square miles of western Uganda. In order to punish the invaders and deter future aggression, the regime claimed, Uganda had extended its border with Tanzania to the Kagera River. This meant that Uganda had acquired some 710 square miles of land. This territory was to be administered as a district of Uganda.[275]

By that time, the war had displaced some 40,000 Tanzanians. Out of these, 31,600 were resettled at a camp near Bukoba. During this armed encounter, a government sawmill and the Kagera Sugar Factory were dismantled and carried away by Ugandan soldiers. An estimated 12,000 head of cattle and thousands of tons of coffee were also taken by the soldiers. According to Tanzanian authorities, some 10,000 of its citizens, including children and women, were also kidnapped and taken to Uganda.[276]

At that point, the Tanzanian ruling party, Chama Cha Mpinduzi (CCM), demanded a swift and total war against the Amin regime. This was endorsed by the Ugandan refugee warriors in Tanzania who assured Nyerere and CCM that the war would be easy to win because the Uganda army was in disarray, and that there was a popular uprising in Uganda. The refugee warriors also offered to fight alongside Tanzanians. Tanzania also received international moral support from many countries including Britain, Canada, the Nordic countries, USA, Jamaica, Zambia, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Guyana.[277] The Tanzanian government then put its war propaganda machine in full gear and presented the war against Amin as a continuation of the liberation struggles in Africa. For example, the *Tanzanian Daily News* claimed that the war was "no different from the wars of national liberation in Zimbabwe and Namibia. By invading Tanzania at the time when our forces were assisting in the defence of new revolutionary frontiers, when Tanzania was host of a meeting of the Front-line states, when the enemy had just attacked Zambia and when Angola, Mozambique and Botswana were bracing themselves up for new attacks from racist minority regimes in Southern Africa, Amin has stabbed progressive Africa in the back."[278]

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[273] See *New African*, London, September 1979: 11–12; *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1978: 5018BC; *New York Times*, January 1979: 7; "Uganda-Tanzania: Who stands to gain?", *Africa Confidential*, 12, 2 (October 1971): 2–4; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1978: 5052C; Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July, 25, 1992; *New African*, January 1979: 1, 13; *New African*, September 1979: 11–12; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1978: 5054C–5055A.

[274] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, October 1–31, 1978: 5030A.

[275] See *Voice of Uganda*, Kampala, November 1, 1978: 1–2; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1978: 5052C.

[276] Respondents No. 35, four NRA officers (former UA officers) from Arua, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 41, two professors at Makerere University, Kampala, August 1992; Respondents No. 53, two refugees from West Nile, Toronto, July 24, 1995; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1978: 5054C–5055A; Rutiba, *Towards Peace in Uganda:* 14; Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report, 1979*: 38.

By the end of November 1978, Tanzanian troops and Ugandan refugee warriors had fought their way beyond the Tanzania-Uganda border. During the engagement, thousands of Ugandan soldiers and civilians were killed at Mutukula, Mbarara and Masaka. Many more were violently uprooted.[279] As the war intensified and Ugandan soldiers retreated, Amin made a peace offer to Tanzania and appealed to the OAU, the UN and the Arab League to mediate an end to the war. To calm the anxiety at home, he granted unconditional amnesty to all Ugandan exiles.[280]

However, the war intensified. By the end of January 1979, Amin announced that Tanzanian troops had captured three towns in Uganda, raped and murdered tens of thousands of innocent Ugandans and pillaged the territory. Tanzania confirmed that its troops were now fighting in Uganda and had captured many armored personnel carriers, tanks, land rovers, jeeps, lorries, arms, ammunition and enemy troops. The Tanzanian

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[277] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 22, 1992; Basilio Okello, conversation with author, Kololo, Kampala, May 2, 1985; Basilio Okello, interview by author, Kololo, Kampala, September 3, 1985; *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1979: 5052C–5053C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1979: 5186AB.

[278] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin* , November 1–30, 1978: 5054B. See also, Kiwanuka, *Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda*: 129.

[279] *Tanzanian Government War Communiqué*, reprinted in *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1978: 5088A.

[280] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, November 1–30, 1978: 5054C; *Africa Research Bulletin*, December 1–31, 1978: 5100AB; *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1979: 5118C.

Daily News added that “Mutukula was littered with the dead bodies of the enemy soldiers.”[281] At that point, some of the strongest allies of the regime, including the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia, deserted it.[282]

On February 24, 1979, Radio Uganda announced that Masaka, some 80 miles from Kampala, had fallen to the Tanzanian troops and the refugee warriors. In the announcement, the regime tried to boost the morale of its fighting men by claiming that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) had dispatched many troops with the best military hardware to repulse the aggressors and their Zionist collaborators.[283] On March 18, 1979, the Chairman of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, confirmed from Beirut that his troops were fighting alongside Ugandan soldiers.[284] Amin also told the nation that Libya had sent military hardware, including tanks, mirage, MiG-21 jets and Tupolev-22 high-altitude bombers. The hardware was accompanied by an estimated 1000 Libyan troops.[285]

At that point, some refugee warriors opened another war front in eastern Uganda. They were told by some of their leaders in Tanzania and Kenya that the masses and a section of the army in the area were waiting anxiously to join them. Most of the refugees, however, were intercepted and killed in Lake Victoria. Those who reached their destinations were disappointed when they found out that there was no popular uprising and no dissident forces waiting to join them. In the end, they were resoundingly defeated by the army.[286]

As the war progressed, the challenge to Amin’s legitimacy in the army intensified. For example, the majority of Ugandan soldiers refused to fight and demanded that Amin resign and that foreigners from Zaire, Rwanda and Sudan leave the army. This was followed by a plot, led by Major General Yusuf Gowon, Brigadier Isaac Malyamungu and Lieutenant Colonel Ibrahim to topple Amin. Skirmishes between the pro-Amin and the anti-Amin forces were reported in Kampala, Mbarara, Masaka, Jinja and Mbale. The result of this internal challenge was that it forced Amin to rely almost exclusively on the Libyans and other mercenaries.[287]

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[281] Cited in *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1979: 5118B.

[282] *Africa Research Bulletin*, January 1–31, 1979: 5118B–5119A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1979: 5155AB.

[283] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1979: 5153BC–5154A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1–28, 1979: 5156A.

[284] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1979: 5185C–5186A.

[285] See *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1979: 5185C; *New African*, January 1979: 1, 13; *New African*, May 1979: 14.

[286] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992; Ingham, *Obote*: 149.

As the invading forces advanced toward the capital city, Nyerere asked Obote to send two political teams to help mobilize and administer Masaka district. One of the teams was to be led by a veteran politician and a former diplomat from the area, Paulo Muwanga. However, this proposition was opposed by Yoweri Museveni who had been fighting for power with Obote in Tanzania and had since formed a tiny splinter group, Fronasa, in 1973.[288] Nyerere rejected Museveni's appeal not to involve Obote in the "liberated" area. Thereafter, Museveni accompanied the fighting forces to Mbarara, where he began to recruit many people, including Rwandese refugees, into the invading army. Museveni's strategy was partly intended to boost his position during the war and in the post-Amin administration. It was also influenced by the general policy to recruit as many local people as possible to fight against Amin.[289]

Nyerere then asked Obote to go to Masaka and prepare to become the next President. However, while Obote was still on his way at Bukoba, he was recalled to Dar es Salaam. "To Obote's astonishment, Nyerere announced that Museveni would become military commissar, effectively in overall control of Ugandan soldiers operating against Amin."[290] This was a major setback for Obote because his troops, the Kikosi Mahalum (KM), led by Colonel Tito Okello and Lieutenant Colonel Oyite Ojok, comprised some 600 well-trained soldiers, while Museveni's troops, the Fronasa, comprised 30 young men. The other troops, especially Save Uganda Movement, under the political leadership of Akena p' Ojok, comprised some 300 soldiers.[291]

Nyerere's decision was a response to the condition Britain set for providing military, financial and political support to Tanzania: that Obote should not be allowed to play any important role in the war and that

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[287] *New African*, March 1979: 48–9.

[288] See UNLF Anti-Dictatorship, *The New Military Dictators in Uganda*, July 1980: 1–7. Museveni, *Selected Articles on the Uganda Resistance War*: 5, claimed that the splinter group was formed because it "favored a guerrilla war approach to remove Amin instead of the conventional war approach advocated by Obote. 'We wanted to involve the people in liberating themselves.'"

[289] Ingham, *Obote*: 151.

[290] Ibid.

[291] UNLF Anti-Dictatorship, *The New Military Dictators in Uganda*: 11; Ingham, *Obote*: 151.

Professor Yusuf Lule should become the next President of Uganda. Later, the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. D. Owen, lamented in *Time to Declare*: "I will never be sure whether it was wise to do so. The price we exacted from Nyerere for our material support was the promise that a mild, decent former children's doctor should be President rather than Milton Obote."[292]

Professor Ingham noted what happened next:

> The Tanzanian president … summoned a conference, in Moshi, which aimed to be as representative as possible of all shades of Ugandan opinion, but with the assurance that the overall direction of the proceedings should be in the hands of people with a radical outlook on government. He intended to make sure that Lule was elected president, in accordance with Britain's instructions, but he was anxious to prevent the conference from falling under the sway of men who, like Lule, would be unsympathetic to Tanzania's political philosophy. He therefore named as conveyors four men whose political views were unquestionably radical but who, again to avoid conflict with Britain, were not known supporters of Obote. They were: Dan Nabudere, Edward Rugumayo, Yash Tandon and Omwony Ojwok.[293]

The Moshi Unity Conference, which brought together some 28 competing exiled groups, then transformed itself into the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), with Professor Lule as the president of the Front and chairman of the executive council. The UNLF also set up the National Consultative Council (NCC), headed by Edward Rugumayo. Three separate commissions were also set: Military, Political and Diplomatic, and Finance. Finally, the Conference created the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), led by Colonel Tito Okello. The Conference concluded its business on March 26, 1979.[294]

On the main battle front, the war had advanced to Lutaya, some 30 miles from Kampala. Here, Ugandan and Libyan soldiers buried long-range artilleries in swampy areas and inflicted such heavy casualties on the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) that the Tanzanians began to retreat and contemplate withdrawing. At that point, Lieutenant Colonel Oyite Ojok took over the command and overpowered the opposing force.[295] On March 27, 1979, the battle for Kampala intensified.[296] After extremely heavy shelling of the city, Oyite Ojok led the invading force to Kampala on April 10, 1979.[297]

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[292] Owen, *Time to Declare*: 1991: 274. See also, Ingham, *Obote*: 51.

[293] Ingham, *Obote*: 152.

[294] See *New African*, May 1879: 14–17; C. Gertzel, "Uganda after Amin: the Continuing Search for Leadership and Control," *African Affairs*, 79, 314 (January 1980): 461–489; J. K. Tindigarukayo, "Uganda, 1979–85: Leadership in Transition," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 26, 4 (1988): 607–608; *Africa Research Bulletin*, March 1–31, 1979: 5187BC.

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[295] Tito Okello, interview by author, Nairobi, July 23, 1992. See also, New *African*, May 1979: 14; *Africa Research Bulletin,* March 1–31, 1979: 5186C–5187A.

[296] See *Africa Research Bulletin,* March 1–31, 1979: 5187C.

[297] See New *African*, May 1979: 13–4; *Africa Research Bulletin*, April 1–30, 1979: 5221C–5222; *New York Times,* April 16, 1979: 8.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This study has established that the most significant factor that accounted for the persistence of intense political violence in Uganda was the severe crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions, the incumbents and their challengers. It has also been shown that the crisis, which is shaped by both internal and external forces, past and present, accounted for the remarkable continuity in the history of political violence since the construction of the predatory and conflict-laden state. Confronted with a profound legitimation deficit, the state, the political incumbents and their challengers adopted both violent and non-violent strategies, depending on the circumstances. The strategies, however, failed to address the profound legitimation deficits because they systematically alienated segments of the society and failed to create conditions, institutions and practices to transform the state in order to provide rights-based human security and create inclusive, representative, democratic, accountable institutions and the rule of law and broad power base. They also failed because, since the construction of the state, the political incumbents "owned" the contested and contesting state, its institutions, its laws, its resources and the general public.

To provide a historically sound analysis of the persistence of intense political violence in Uganda, the study began by examining political formations and relations in pre-colonial Uganda. Two broadly defined types of state systems were presented: centralized and decentralized polities. In both polities, traditional religions, myths, political culture, invented customs, lived experiences and histories defined and accorded legitimacy to the state, its institutions and the incumbents.

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An examination of the centralized states indicated that the monarchial ideology of legitimacy rested partly on careful negotiations with clans, intermarriages, long distance trade, and the mythical and tension-fitted theory of the king's "natural" body. These processes and ideology led to the concentration of despotic power in the hands of the kings. This meant that at the height of the centralization of authority, by and large, political relations radiated outwards from the kings to the rest of the state and inwards from the clans to the kings and the state. The despotic, hegemonic and imperial nature of such states, tempered by the shrinking powers of the clans and traditions, made the polities, at specific junctures, important sites of crisis of legitimacy and political violence. Indeed, on the eve of the colonial era, the centralized states had many of the characteristic features of despotically strong but infrastructurally weak states: (i) the legitimacy of the state, its institutions and incumbents were contested by those whose territories were violently annexed by the imperial state; (ii) the incumbents manipulated customs and traditions, and relied partly on intimidation, coercion and political violence to maintain and enhance their hegemony and ideologies of legitimacy; (iii) the regime was captured by royal families, with the erosion of the powers of the clans and the exclusion of some segments of the population from the highest office in the land; (iv) the political system was run largely on the basis of clientelism and patronage; (v) political violence was sanctioned in domestic politics to determine which royal candidate should assume power; and (vi) political violence was sanctioned and normalized in domestic politics to punish perceived opponents of the despotic regime and to enhance the powers of the incumbents. It should be added that, while Toro and Ankole were essentially despotically and infrastructurally weak, Buganda and Bunyoro were despotically and infrastructurally strong for certain periods in their history. The infrastructural powers of Bunyoro and Buganda, which oscillated depending on the prevailing domestic and external environments, eroded on the eve of the colonial era, thereby making the states somewhat infrastructurally weak by the time of the colonial penetration.

The decentralized pre-colonial polities of Acoli, on the other hand, exhibited the characteristic features of states that were despotically weak but infrastructurally strong. The infrastructural power of the states in Acoliland rested on the democratic political systems, democratic traditions, the central roles of the clans in the political process, and the fact that the democratic states and the society were very intimately wedded. Some of the characteristic features of the decentralized states were (i) the state was not captured or held by a family or a ruling house; (ii) executive and judicial powers were decentralized; (iii) the incumbents did not rely on violence, intimidation and coercion to maintain power; (iv) the incumbents were democratically and periodically elected; (v) the incumbents did not use state capability and resources for personal enrichment; (vi) political violence was not sanctioned in domestic politics; and (vii) the legitimacy of the state was not internally contested.

What the examination of the two types of pre-colonial political systems suggests is that the centralized states were more prone to severe crises of legitimacy and intense political violence than the decentralized polities. It also suggests that the stability which existed in the centralized states rested to some extent on competent and cohesive coercion, manipulation, invention of traditions, intimidation and violence. Notwithstanding various forms of centralized and decentralized polities in pre-colonial Uganda, these observations, based largely on the case studies, turn on its head the dominant view in the imperial and colonial historiographies of Africa that celebrated centralized states as important sites of human progress and rights, and that they were more peaceful, more stable and more developed politically than the decentralized polities. The examination of the two forms of polities also highlights some elements of continuity between the centralized pre-colonial polities and the colonial political form. The continuity has to do with the despotic nature of the two forms of centralized polities: precolonial centralized states and the colonial states, and the resulting crisis of legitimacy that promoted political violence. This continuity, however, should not be exaggerated because the centralized pre-colonial polities, despotic as they were, had significant legitimacy because of political cooption, bribery, the roles played by the clans in negotiating space for inclusion and accountability, intermarriages, invented traditions and histories, and "traditional" political culture.

The colonial period, on the other hand, was a period of unprecedented crisis of legitimacy on the domestic front. Faced with such a crisis, the regime employed unrestrained political violence to create, control, repress and exploit the state it created. Regime violence was partly unrestrained because colonialism by its very nature sanctioned and normalized the use of uninhibited terror against the colonized, who were intentionally invented, dehumanized, demonized and treated as evil and wild animals. Indeed, violence against the colonized was often normalized and disguised as a humanitarian gesture that would gradually lead the victims of colonial violence onto the path of evolutionary modernization and civilization.

This violence was legalized by enacting numerous laws, such as the collective punishment ordinance, deportation ordinance, outlying districts ordinance, removal of undesirable natives ordinance, ordinance relating to the prevention of crime and ordinance relating to witchcraft. The legalization of regime violence, by a regime that had no legitimacy among the ruled, underscores the futility of defining political violence as an illegal act of violence against a regime, or as an illegitimate act of violence against a political order.

The effects of colonial violence were devastating: constantly shifting colonial borders and violent evictions of the colonized; destruction of indigenous religions, identity, histories, self-worth and livelihood; destruction of families, clans and pre-colonial states; and arrests, detentions, executions, rape, slave labor and collective punishment. It was also shown that one of the most enduring effects of the colonial project was the state that it created. At the time of colonial penetration, the state was despotically strong but infrastructurally weak. Once it had consolidated its powers, the state became despotically and infrastructurally strong. However, on the eve of decolonization, the infrastructural power of the state eroded because the machinery of repression that had provided it with absolute monopoly of competent and cohesive violence began to weaken. By and large, the colonial state exhibited the characteristic features of a despotically and infrastructurally strong state: (i) the regime was captured by a particular clan, the British, with the systematic exclusion of the ruled, the Africans; (ii) power was captured by the clan for the sole purpose of enriching that clan; (iii) the state became an organized criminal enterprise whose sole purpose was to monopolize coercive power in order to rob public treasury; (iv) the regime relied almost exclusively on terror, coercion, intimidation, cooption, deception and manipulation to maintain itself in power and to plunder the state; (v) the territorial integrity of the state rested on international imperial law, not on the popular will of the ruled; (vi) the state was not constructed to deliver basic services to the population; (vii) the state lacked legitimacy, and the ruled did not regard the rulers and the institutions of the state as legitimate; (viii) the state was so closely wedded to the regime and served the interests of the regime that in the eyes of the colonized, there was no distinction between the government and the state and between the political incumbents and the state; (ix) the policies of divide and rule and "indirect rule," and the despotic and predatory nature of the state made the polity a tragic and fragmented fiction in the minds of the colonized; (x) politics became a zero-sum game, where the violent winner seized and controlled state resources and access to the state; (xi) total absence of democratic traditions and practice; and (xii) the state became integrated into the international capitalist economic system as a chronically peripheral and dependent and an underdeveloped polity, thereby sustaining the crisis of legitimacy of the state.

The analysis has also shown that the existence of the colonial state was violently challenged by the colonized. This challenge became more widespread and ferocious when the regime began to yield nervously to the wind of decolonization that was blowing from the Asian sub-continent to the African continent. The result was that it began, half-heatedly, to democratize the no-party despotism. This hesitant democratic experiment weakened the machinery of terror and repression, and provided the colonized with limited autonomous political space to challenge more vigorously and more violently the legitimacy of the colonial state. The weakening of regime terror—which highlighted the weakening of the infrastructural power of the state—therefore, explains the political instability and political violence from below that characterized the period of decolonization.

The transition from colonialism to neocolonialism left the crisis of legitimacy unresolved. This crisis confronted the Obote regime. The regime was also confronted by challenges which its predecessor had not encountered: it had to practice and defend liberal democracy in a state that had been ruled for nearly seven decades as a no-party despotism; it had to observe and respect human rights in a country where the colonized had no human rights for nearly seven decades; it had to use the kleptocratic state to spur economic development; and it had to address the interests of every ethnic group without alienating the Baganda who had enjoyed special status and special treatment from the previous regime for nearly seven decades. Obote, as the leader of the neocolonial state, was also confronted with a number of other challenges which his predecessor did not have to deal with: his ethnic origin as a Lango made it nearly impossible for the leaders of the kingdoms, especially Buganda, to accept him as the leader of the country; and the Lost Counties crisis, which the previous regime avoided handling because it threatened to tear the country apart, had to be resolved.

To address these challenges, Obote discarded his republican principles, embraced the KY and negotiated to have Mutesa appointed as the president of the country. He also offered cabinet positions to political leaders who were quite opposed to him. This non-violent strategy of cooption and negotiated settlement provided the regime with indirect legitimacy in those parts of the country that had refused to recognize the electoral victory as a criterion of legitimacy. Democratic elections were not recognized as a criteria of legitimacy because for nearly seven decades the colonial state had practiced politics as a zero-sum game. The attempts by the colonial regime to promote ethnic consciousness, the policy of divide and rule and the policy of "indirect rule" in the despotic and predatory state also informed the vote of no-confidence in the democratic experiment.

The non-violent strategies that had brought about stability and increased infrastructural powers of the state, however, faltered in 1964, following the collapse of the UPC-KY alliance. This development deprived Obote of the indirect legitimacy he had been accorded for including the KY and Mutesa in the government. This meant that Obote was now confronted with a severe crisis of legitimacy in Buganda. The crisis was exacerbated by the terror the Buganda establishment unleashed against the Banyoro and the Central government during and after the Lost Counties Referendum. This first major wave of political violence in post-colonial Buganda was an attempt to address the profound legitimation deficit that the referendum created for the Buganda establishment. The crisis reached another level when Mutesa and the Ibingira group plotted to topple Obote. Unable to address the severe crisis of legitimacy by non-violent means, Obote organized his own constitutional coup. The coup, however, intensified the crisis of legitimacy and turned the country into an authoritarian state where the rights of political opponents were systematically violated, representative principles disregarded and terror, coercion and intimidation became the hallmark of the regime. It was also during this time that the regime, like many regimes in Africa, adopted the policy of developmental dictatorship to address the severe crisis of legitimacy. This policy, however, intensified the crisis of legitimacy of the authoritarian regime and the neo-colonial state. As the crisis intensified, the regime expanded its machinery of terror and repression. The result was that the regime was only able to maintain stability in Buganda through competent and cohesive terror, intimidation and coercion.

The severe crisis of legitimacy that intensified during the Obote regime highlighted the various forms of conflicts that had become important features of the crisis: leadership conflict, as represented by factionalism within the government, political parties and the army, and between Obote and Mutesa; conflict over land, as demonstrated by the Lost Counties referendum; religious conflicts; ethnic conflicts; economic conflicts; conflicts between traditions and modernity; ideological conflict; rebellions of the suppressed and the disenfranchised; and the international conflicts, such as those of the Cold War, the liberation of struggles in southern Africa and the Israeli-Arab conflicts. These conflicts persisted as important features of the severe crisis of legitimacy in the country.

When Amin seized power, he had no viable political constituency in the country. This problem reflected the reactive nature of the military coup. Faced with such a profound crisis of legitimacy, he employed non-violent means: cooption and bribery, to enlist the support of West Nile and Buganda. To expand this narrow support base and address the severe crisis of legitimacy that confronted his regime, he appointed members of every ethnic, religious and political group into his cabinet. He also attempted to consolidate his legitimacy in Buganda by bringing back the remains of Mutesa from England. Political violence against the Asians—which was built on pre-existing popular anti-Asian sentiments throughout the country that dated back to the colonial period—was also intended to address the severe crisis of legitimacy that confronted the regime. The search for legitimacy using limited political violence, however, was constantly interrupted by insurgency activities and opposition within the army. These violent challenges led to increased regime terror against the Acoli and Langi. Since the challenges were more violent than those that Obote had faced, Amin employed more terror and violence than Obote. Also, unlike the Obote regime, the Amin regime failed to control the machinery of state terror. This partly accounted for the unprecedented high level of terror in the country.

On the general level, the political violence that gripped the country from 1890 to 1979 contributed significantly to the moral decay in the country. For example, looting—which surged during the colonial period as colonial economic policy of exploitation, and was further normalized during punitive expeditions—became a common form of economic survival. Every regime and their powerful supporters have, as such, looted the national treasury for personal benefit and in an attempt to buy legitimacy from segments of the society. The impunity with which the ruling elites pillaged the national treasury also normalized and sanctioned looting or corruption in the country.

The persistence of political violence had far-reaching implications for the economic underdevelopment and marginalization of the country. To begin with, it destroyed, fragmented and disrupted the lives of millions of Ugandans. A significant proportion of the population that was not murdered or was unable or unwilling to flee the country, for example, became preoccupied with personal safety and bare survival, not economic innovation and sustainable productivity. The protracted political violence—which further reproduced and politicized ethnic and religious fractionalization—also significantly lowered the prospects for sustainable economic growth in the country. As well, the protracted political violence devoured billions of dollars "invested" in developing and sustaining cohesive and competent repression and eliminating both armed and unarmed political opponents. The financial cost of the war for legitimacy further drained scarce national resources from productive sectors of the economy. Also, in such an environment—where warlords rule—repressive, unpopular and exploitative economic policies were adopted and implemented with unrestrained state repression and violence. Such policies sustained the culture of authoritarianism, violations of human rights, the severe crisis of legitimacy and political violence. Another important effect of the political violence was that it sustained and guaranteed the crisis of legitimacy-political violence-underdevelopment trap. The violence also increased the economic uncertainty and discouraged national and international investments in the productive sectors of the economy. Additionally, it ruined the economy by generating and sustaining an environment that promoted systematic and widespread patronage, sabotage, nepotism, corruption, theft and mismanagement. The crisis was exacerbated by intentional destruction of schools, roads, bridges, houses, hospitals, offices and industries by those engaged in violent contest for legitimacy, revenge or political survival.

Political violence also created a concentration camp-like environment, where torture, arrests, incarceration, solitary confinement, disappearances and other degrading forms of physical and psychological torture became common practice. The effects of these tortures included: trauma, depression, distrust, suspicion, increased aggression and violence, reduced hearing, physical exhaustion, a state of helplessness, feeling of incompetence, loss of compassion, alienation and impaired self-image or loss of self-esteem. This traumatic experience was most devastating on children who lost their childhood and security and had to cope with multiple problems related to violence, deaths and the disappearance of their loved ones.

On the political front, the persistence of intense political violence destroyed public trust in the state, its institutions, laws, political elites and political processes. Furthermore, it promoted a culture of violence that not only reduced political contests to a zero-sum game but also gave disproportionate power and prominence to warlords in the political process. This culture condoned and rewarded violence and despotism in politics. Additionally, it promoted a culture of suspicion, piracy and distrust in the country.

On the question of responses to political violence, the study established that they depended on the nature, objective, benefits and costs, intensity, duration, targets, location and history of conflicts. Regional and international factors also influenced how people responded to political violence in Uganda. Responses included resignation, "collaboration," radicalism, creating underground opposition, attempted secession, imposition of self-censorship on one's own exercise of basic freedom, armed resistance, flight and other mechanisms to cope with the political violence.

The foregoing also highlighted the utility of political violence: creation and preservation of the despotic and kleptocratic state and its institutions; preservation of regimes; systematic plunder of national resources; overthrow of regimes; elimination of oppression and exploitation; preservation of unpopular and unjust laws and order; conflict resolution by eliminating opponents and dissent; deprivation and discrimination; preservation of traditionalism; revenge; facilitation of modernism; deterrence; bargaining and conflict management. Types of political violence highlighted included: military coups, constitutional coups, guerrilla warfare, terrorism, detention, imprisonment, torture, humiliation, assassination, repression, rape, genocide, massacre, nepotism, corruption, confiscation and destruction of property, and executions.

Addressing the profound legitimation deficits will require, among other considerations, immediate and sustained strategies that protect human rights and cure the causes of legitimation crisis. Among other considerations, such strategies should address the severe legitimation deficits by creating conditions, institutions and practices that enable the state to meet the basic socio-economic needs of the people and create inclusive, representative, democratic, accountable institutions and the rule of law and broad power base. Such strategies, should, therefore, address both internal and external factors, past and present, that contribute to profound legitimation deficits and political violence. On the external front, for example, foreign policies, international cooperation, trade policies and development aid should be reformed and coordinated accordingly. Hopefully, such strategies will convince the severely repressive state and political incumbents to embrace the benefits of fundamental reforms.

Fundamental and genuine reforms should also focus specifically on those factors that contribute to legitimation crisis such as severe poverty, severe economic and social inequality, political repression and systematic discrimination, corruption, authoritarianism, poor governance, patronage, the prevalence of a culture of zero-sum contestation, the destruction or denial of inclusive conflict resolution mechanisms and severe fragmentation of the society. Addressing these factors will require, among other considerations, coordinated policies that promote democracy and tolerance, create and sustain political legitimacy and good governance, respect and promote human rights and the rule of law, create and promote equitable economic development, reduce poverty, and utilize inclusive and culturally relevant mechanisms for conflict resolutions to redress grievances and prevent conflict from degenerating into violence.

Preventing conflict from degenerating into violence, for example, will require the development and deployment of credible and actionable early warning systems that lead to early and appropriate response. Early response, before conflict has degenerated into violence, should include active mediation and negotiation, deployment of financial incentives, targeted coercion and sanctions, control of import of arms to parties in conflict and other forms of diplomacy, including preventative diplomacy. The primary objectives of preventative diplomacy in this instance are to proactively prevent grievances and/or disputes from escalating into violent conflict, and, when violence has erupted, to limit its spread and devastation.

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